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ABSTRACT

Designed to assist secondary school social studies, English, and humanities teachers as they teach about the Nazi Holocaust, the second of two volumes serves as a continuing introduction to the concept of human rights. Building on the first volume, which dealt with the roots of intolerance and persecution and precursors of the Holocaust, this volume focuses primarily on the Nazi Holocaust and its implications for our future. Because the guide is not a textbook, but rather a collection of materials and activities about the Holocaust and other examples of genocide, the learning activities are not arranged in a developmental order and may be taught in any sequence. This second volume, beginning with Unit III, examines anti-Semitism--traditional, religious, and racial; Nazi thought; the Nazi rise to power; "The Final Solution"; perpetrators and victims; responses by individual institutions and nations; and judgment, justice, and survivors. Unit IV, "Implications for Our Future," contains three sections focusing on individual choices, group choices, and connections. The bulk of the guide consists of student handouts, including time-lines, photographs, readings, memoranda, telegrams, and other primary source materials. A bibliography correlated to Unit titles concludes the guide. (LH)

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TEACHING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE

THE HUMAN RIGHTS SERIES Volume II



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Topical Outline for the Human Rights Series

- **Studying About the Holocaust and Genocide: A Rationale**
- **The Roots of Intolerance and Persecution**
 - Denial of Reality
 - Indifference
 - Prejudicial Attitudes
 - Conformity
 - Obedience to Authority
- **Precursors of the Holocaust**
 - Genocidal Theories
 - Pseudoscientific Racism
 - Technological Aspects of Genocide
 - Case Study: The Armenians
- **The Nazi Holocaust**
 - Anti-Semitism—Traditional, Religious, and Racial
 - Nazi Thought
 - Nazi Rise to Power
 - "The Final Solution"
 - Perpetrators and Victims
 - Responses by Individuals, Institutions, and Nations
 - Judgment, Justice, and Survivors
- **Implications for Our Future**
 - Individual Choices
 - Group Choices
 - Connections
- **Case Studies: Persecution/Genocide**
 - Forced Famine in Ukraine
 - Human Rights Violations in Ukraine
 - The Killing of Cambodia
 - Human Rights Violations in Cambodia
 - Guidelines for Case Studies
- **Teaching About Human Rights**

On the cover: Nazi caption - "Child Prisoners" (Auschwitz); Taken from: *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, International Tribunal, Nuremberg, Germany. Volume XXX, Document 2430-PS.

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Foreword

This volume of the teacher's guide serves as a continuing introduction to the concept of human rights. Building on the first volume in this series which dealt with *The Roots of Intolerance and Persecution and Precursors of the Holocaust*, this volume focuses primarily on *The Nazi Holocaust and its Implications for Our Future*.

Study about the Holocaust raises a number of important questions about the nature of human behavior.

- What does the Holocaust tell us about our conceptions of what constitutes civilized or rational human beings?
- What does the Holocaust suggest about the notion of "progress" as it applies to medicine, law, and technology?
- What can we learn about the roles of organized religion from the Holocaust experience?
- How can we confront the moral and philosophical dilemmas posed by the Holocaust?
- What can we do to prevent violations of human rights in the future?

As students read the materials and as they complete the activities included in this guide, they should begin to develop answers to these questions. This guide also proposes to assist teachers as they plan their own lessons about the evils of the Holocaust as well as about those triumphs of the human spirit which responded to these evils against all odds.

In preparing this guide, the writers and consultants made careful decisions regarding which readings to include and which to leave out. These decisions were made after a review of the historical information available and were based upon the following considerations:

- The appropriateness of materials and readings for the selected student audience.
- The need to include a variety of materials, readings and student activities in order to account for diverse student learning styles and interests.
- The need to present an accurate historical account of the major events of the Nazi Holocaust and the deportations and massacres of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during World War I.
- The need to provide information about the positive actions that individuals and groups took to counter the evils associated with acts of genocide.

The State Education Department wishes to acknowledge the contributions of the following writers, Advisory Committee members, Review Committee members, Curriculum Consultants, and Curriculum Reviewers. Inclusion of an individual's name and affiliation does not necessarily imply support for the contents of this guide by that individual or affiliation.

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How to Use This Guide

This teacher's guide is divided into a Rationale and 4 separate Units. Each Unit includes a statement of purpose, a list of objectives, and a group of learning activities and student materials. Each activity is marked by a bullet (•) symbol. The learning activities are not arranged in a developmental order so that they may be taught in any order. Teachers should begin by reviewing the entire guide before they plan their units of study. Teachers can design lessons by using those activities and materials most appropriate for their students.

Because of the sensitivity of the materials, teachers should select readings and classroom activities with great care. The handouts included in each Unit should be fully explained to students so that they understand the purpose of each handout. Teachers should also recognize the need for students to reflect upon each lesson. If possible, students should be allowed time after class to talk about their thoughts and feelings and to discuss the lesson informally. Students may also be asked to keep a journal in which they express their feelings and reactions on a daily or weekly basis.

Before using this guide teachers should read through the entire publication and select those readings and activities which best fit his/her course or program. Please remember that this guide is *not* a textbook but rather a collection of materials and activities about the Nazi Holocaust and other examples of genocide.

The following chart presents a model for planning a two-week course of study on the Holocaust and genocide. Teachers should select specific readings and activities based upon the objectives and questions listed in the chart.

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Unit III. The Nazi Holocaust

A. Anti-Semitism—Traditional, Religious, and Racial

Statement of Purpose:

Most students will be aware of the anti-Jewish philosophy of the Nazis. They need to understand that in anti-Semitism the Nazis were simply using an age-old concept. They didn't have to create scapegoats; they were already there.

Objectives:

- Students will conclude that the Jews have an extensive history prior to the Nazi Holocaust;
- Students will identify some pre-Nazi sources of anti-Semitism;
- Students will explain the traditional (religious) and racial aspects of anti-Semitism.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

NOTE: In all of these activities, the teacher should draw on the concepts presented in Units I and II.

- Ask each student to make a list of general comments that they might have heard about Jews. Compile a collective class list. Discuss with students how they think these ideas or stereotypes might have originated. Develop or focus the discussion on the issue: Why do you think anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic stereotypes have persisted?
- Using Handout A-1, "Time-Line of Major Jewish Experiences in Europe," have students draw several conclusions regarding the nature

and extent of anti-Jewish sentiment and actions. Have students summarize the major episodes for each century listed and develop a definition for the term anti-Semitism.

- Handout A-2 focuses on the background of the "Jewish Life in Poland." Introduce this reading with the observation that the majority of the Jews killed in the Nazi Holocaust came from Nazi-occupied Poland. You might begin this exercise by asking students to speculate as to why so many Jews could be found living in Poland. Students should use the reading to find evidence to support or modify their responses. Since this reading provides basic historical information, you might ask student groups to outline the information and then compare students' results. Ask students to refer to Handout A-1 and compare the information included on the time-line with the observations made in Handout A-2. You may also want to consult the source for Handout A-2, *Image Before My Eyes*, by Lucjan Dobroszycki and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (New York: Schocken Books, 1977) and Bernard D. Weinryb's *The Jews of Poland* (Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973).

After students have read Handout A-2, ask:

- What distinguished the Jews from the Christian Polish population?
- How might these differences between Polish Jews and Polish Christians lead to disagreements between the two groups?
- Why were the 15th and 16th centuries called the "Golden Age of Polish Jewry"?

– How did Polish Jews make a living? Where did they live? What was the *kehillah*?

- For an excellent account of Jewish life in Germany prior to the Nazi era have students view *The Camera of My Family: Four Generations in Germany 1845-1945* (Anti-Defamation League).
- To provide students with additional information about Jewish culture prior to the war, have them view the Public Television Series, *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews*. This series, produced and available from WNET/Thirteen, 356 West 58 Street, New York, NY 10019, includes the following titles:

A People is Born
The Power of the Word
The Shaping of Traditions
The Crucible of Europe
The Search for Deliverance
Roads from the Ghetto
The American Jewish Experience
Out of the Ashes
Into the Future

- Using the selection "Why the Jews?" in Handout A-3, divide the class into three groups. Assign each group one of the medieval libels. Have each group:
 - Describe the libel
 - Explain its source
 - Predict its impact on European Jewry
 - Suggest ways that the libel could be logically refuted

Have the entire class examine the section enti-

tled "Christian Roots of the Holocaust." What connections do the authors make between:

- Nazism and Christianity?
- Christian anti-Semitism and the Holocaust?
- Nazism anti-Semitism and Christian anti-Semitism?

Using Vatican II's Declaration on Christian-Jewish relations, discuss the following questions:

- How does this statement deal with the charge of deicide?
- How does the statement deal with the charge of collective guilt?
- Why might the church be opposed to actions and statements against the Jewish people?
- Using the quote from Matthew in Handout A-3 ask students to:
 - Define deicide
 - Define collective guilt
 - Tell why Matthew's account of the crucifixion might encourage anti-Semitism

Distribute copies of "Martin Luther and the Jews," prepared by Raul Hilberg. These ideas were expressed by Luther after the Jews refused to convert to Lutheranism. Ask students why Martin Luther viewed the Jews as a threat to Christians. Have students describe how Martin Luther characterized Jews in his writings. Be sure that students understand that the Lutheran Synod today has repudiated Luther's anti-Semitic statements. As a homework assignment, have students read "The Interacting Causes of

Anti-Semitism," by Milton Yinger. Have students prepare an outline of Yinger's reading. Make it very clear to students that the term "Christian Anti-Semitism" does not mean that *all* Christians were or are anti-Semitic or anti-Jewish. The term refers to specific Church policies which were discriminatory and encouraged intolerance of Jews.

- Anti-Semitism was not limited to the uneducated masses but also has been expressed in European literature and in the highest intellectual circles. Have students examine the excerpts in Handout A-4, "Anti-Semitism in Literature." Ask:

- What seems to be the source of anti-Semitism in these selections?
- How are the Jews portrayed? Why do you think Jews were characterized in these ways?
- Who was Shylock? What does the word "shylock" mean? Ask students to consult a dictionary.
- What did Marx mean when he said: "The social emancipation of Jewry is the emancipation of society from Jewry."

- Using Handout A-5, "The Jew as Scapegoat," ask students if there are any possible explanations in the reading for the "stereotypical Jew" that they defined in the first classroom activity for this section. Have students summarize the reasons Gordon Allport cites for stereotypes which developed.

- Handout A-6 focuses on the rise of racial anti-Semitism in Germany and in other European countries during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. After students study this reading, ask:

- What is meant by political anti-Semitism?
- What is meant by racial anti-Semitism? How does it differ from political anti-Semitism?
- Who was Darwin? What was his "view of society"?
- What is meant by social Darwinism?
- Which is more dangerous: racial anti-Semitism or anti-Semitic components of Christian theology?

- Using Handout A-7, have students summarize the origins of the "Hoax of the Century." As students respond to the following questions, be sure that they draw on information included in Section A to support their answers.

- What is a hoax? Identify other examples of hoaxes and describe their origins and purposes. What makes a hoax believable?
- What was the "Hoax of the Century"? Why did this hoax survive for decades?
- Why were people so willing to believe in the alleged call for Jewish world domination?
- What was Henry Ford's involvement in the "Hoax of the Century"?
- How could the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" be used to teach and reinforce anti-Semitic stereotypes?

TIME-LINE OF MAJOR JEWISH EXPERIENCES IN EUROPE

100B.C. Palestine conquered by the Romans.
to (Pre-European)
1 A.D. First Jewish Revolt against
to Rome. (Pre-European)
100 Titus destroyed Jerusalem.
100 2nd and 3rd Jewish Revolts against
to Rome. (Pre-European)
200 Jerusalem placed off limits to Jews.
200 Jews dispersed throughout Roman
to Empire. Jews became Roman citizens.
300 Jews permitted to resettle in Palestine.
300 Jews denied citizenship and rights by
to the Roman Empire.
400 Roman Emperor Constantine converted to Christianity.
400 Christians fought barbarians and
to heresies within the Church.
600 Period of relative peace for Jews in an
age of violence and injustice.
Jews protected by Theoderic the Great.
600 Many Jews forced to convert to
to Christianity in Spain.
800 Jews invited to settle in Italy, France,
and Germany.
800 Charlemagne welcomed Jews into his
to Carolingian Empire.
900
900 Jews entered England at time of
to conquest. Jews enjoy wide toleration
in Moslem Spain.
1100
1096 Crusades began. Anti-Semitic out-
breaks in France.
First ghettos established.

1100 Jews seen as "infidels at home" and
to slaughtered throughout Western
1300 Europe. Jews settled in Poland.
Statute of Kalisz (1264) granted Polish
Jews the fundamental guarantee of personal safety, protection of places of worship and freedom of trade.
First recorded "blood libel" accusation in Norwich, England.
Fourth Church Council required Jews to wear distinctive badge.
Jews expelled from England.
Massacre of Jews in town of York, England.
1306 Statute of Wislica granted Polish Jews
to equal protection under the law in 1347.
1600 Jews blamed for spreading the Black Death (1348).
Jews expelled from France (1306).
Jews expelled from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496).
Jews expelled from Lithuania.
Jewish commercial activities shifted to Eastern Europe, mainly Poland.
Golden Age in Poland. Many Jews resettled in Poland during this time period. Extensive privileges under Casimir III.
1500 Between 2,000-4,000 Jews slaughtered
to in Lisbon (1506).
1700 Venetian Republic ordered the segregation of Jews into an area of Venice known as ghetto Nuovo.
Jews forced into ghettos in Italy, Germany, and Central Europe.

Jews reappeared in England, Holland, and France.
1700 Partition of Poland by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.
to 1800 Maria Theresa launches pogrom in Bohemia and Moravia (1744).
Austrian Emperor, Joseph II establishment of Patent of Toleration.
French Revolution bestowed French citizenship on Jews.
Pale of Settlement established in Russia.
1800 Edict of Emancipation made Jews
to citizens in Prussia.
1900 Emancipation of British Jews (1860)
De Gobineau wrote essay, *Inequality of the Human Race*.
Wilhelm Marr founded League of Anti-Semitism.
Swiss Jews gain full citizenship.
Swiss ghetto life ended (1877).
Russian pogroms began widespread anti-Semitic rioting in Russian Empire.
Hitler born in Austria.
Dreyfuss Affair took place in France (1894-1898).
First Zionist Congress at Basel (1897).
1900 *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* published in
to Russia.
1933 Hitler organized Nazi Party Program.
Beer Hall Putsch took place.
Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf*.
Hitler became German Chancellor; anti-Jewish legislation passed.

Handout A-2

JEWISH LIFE IN POLAND

Lucjan Dobroszycki
Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett

Even before the establishment of the first Polish kingdom in the tenth century, Jewish merchants visited Poland in the course of their journeys. While the very first settlers came from the east in the tenth century, the earliest large-scale migrations to Poland, between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, were from the west. Most of the settlers fled from German lands and Bohemia during the Crusades and the period of the Black Death. They were followed by Jews who sought asylum in Poland and other countries after their expulsion from Spain and Portugal in 1492-1493.

Unlike the largely peasant Slavic populations, the Jews were city dwellers and skilled craftsmen. They also were experienced in trade and fiscal matters. Polish kings and princes, who welcomed the contribution the Jews could make to Poland's economic development, encouraged them to settle and offered them protection.

With the unification of Poland and Lithuania in 1569, the newly formed Commonwealth extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and included within its boundaries Poles, Ukrainians, White Russians, Lithuanians, and others. Jews, who had taken part in the early development of towns and cities in Poland proper, now played a major role in the colonization of the outlying areas of the Commonwealth. Active in local commerce, they also exercised a virtual monopoly over entire branches of national and international trade, for example, timber and hides. Many were

employed as tax collectors and as stewards of estates and industries belonging to the nobility, including salt mines, mills, and the production and sale of alcoholic beverages.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Golden Age of Polish Jewry, the Jews enjoyed relative freedom within the feudal structure of Poland. They could travel inside and outside the country, engage in a variety of occupations, and practice their religion and self-government. These rights, which were basic to their way of life, depended on privileges granted to them by the generally sympathetic kings and nobility. However, pressures from the townspeople, their economic competitors, and from the clergy, who objected to their faith, forced even tolerant rulers to place restrictions on the place and manner in which Jews might live. Individual cities were at times granted the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, which meant that Jews could not live within their limits. Sometimes Jews were compelled to live within designated areas within the towns. They were also banned from various spheres of economic and social life.

Jews were resourceful in coping with such restrictions. When they were excluded from city markets, they engaged in foreign trade. If they were forbidden to live in cities, they settled in nearby towns. Most important, their communities developed a form of self-governing, administrative organization, the *kehillah*. Institutionally complete and autonomous, the Jewish community had its own schools, hospitals, courts of law, and welfare organizations. From ca. 1580 to 1764, local Jewish communities were subject to the Council of the Four Lands, the supreme authority regulating the communal life of Polish Jewry.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the end of the Golden Age of Polish Jewry. The country was weakened by war and internal conflict. In the years 1772-1795, Poland was parti-

tioned and absorbed by neighboring Austria, Prussia, and Russia, who were to dominate her for almost one hundred and fifty years. The Jews, like the rest of the population, were divided among these three countries, in which they confronted economic, political, and cultural conditions very different from those they had known before the partitions. Even though during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries radical changes increasing secularization, development of modern industry, emancipation – took place, basic patterns of Jewish settlement, communal organization, and occupation persisted up until the eve of World War II.

• • •

In old Poland, legal restrictions almost entirely denied Jews the right to own land and to hold even minor positions in the Polish government bureaucracy. The majority of Jews were employed in urban crafts and commerce. Banned from the Christian guilds, Jewish craftsmen organized their own guilds, which were under the jurisdiction of the local *kehillahs*.

Later, it was hard for Jewish workers to find employment in big factories. They were entirely banned from certain industries, for example, railroads and mining. Besides, they themselves were reluctant to enter the large-industry factory system; among other reasons, the requirements of the Jewish Sabbath made it impossible for them to comply with the six-day work week. Most Jews continued to work in small workshops, owned and operated by themselves or other Jews, or in a system of cottage industry, much as they had done for centuries.

• • •

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Handout A-2 (cont.)

From the thirteenth century to the eve of World War II, Jewish merchants and artisans played a special role in the economic life of Poland, which was primarily an agricultural country. Jews were represented in almost every craft, from tailoring and shoemaking to metalworking and smithing. In some occupations – hatmaking, manufacturing of sewing notions and trimmings, brassworking, gold- and tin-smithing, glazing, and the manufacture of fur and other garments – even after World War I, they constituted from seventy-five to one hundred percent of those employed. In these trades, as in baking and butchering, they served both Christian and Jewish populations. Within the Jewish community they were the sole suppliers of baked goods, meat, and garments, inasmuch as these products had to be prepared in accordance with religious law.



Market Day in Krzemieniec, 1925
One of the oldest settlements in eastern Poland.
Photographer: Alter Kacyzne

Taken from: Lucjan Dobroszycki and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. *Image Before My Eyes: A Photographic History of Jewish Life in Poland, 1864-1939* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), p. 56. Photograph reprinted by permission of YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.



Jewish musicians at a Polish wedding in Lachwa, January 9, 1927

Taken from: Lucjan Dobroszycki and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. *Image Before My Eyes: A Photographic History of Jewish Life in Poland, 1864-1939* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), p. 99. Photograph reprinted by permission of YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.



Zelig, the tailor in Wolomin.
Photographer: Alter Kaczyne/Raphael Abramovitch Collection

Taken from: Lucjan Dobroszycki and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. *Image Before My Eyes: A Photographic History of Jewish Life in Poland, 1864-1939* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), p. 92. Photograph reprinted by permission of YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.



**Berl Cyn, age 87, the oldest blacksmith in the town.
Nowe Miasto (Yiddish: Nayahtot), 1925.
Photographer: L. Przedecki/Raphael Abramovitch Collection**

Taken from: Lucjan Dobroszycki and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. *Image Before My Eyes: A Photographic History of Jewish Life in Poland, 1864-1939* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), p. 100. Photograph reprinted by permission of YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.



Water pump in the fish market in Otwock, 28 kilometers southeast of Warsaw.
Photographer: Alter Kacyzne/Raphael Abramovitch Collection

Taken from: Lucjan Dobroszycki and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. *Image Before My Eyes: A Photographic History of Jewish Life in Poland, 1864-1939* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), p. 49. Photograph reprinted by permission of YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

Handout A-2 (cont.)



Map taken from: Martin Gilbert. *The Macmillan Atlas of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1982), p. 16. Used by permission of Martin Gilbert.

Handout A-3

WHY THE JEWS?

Dennis Prager and Joseph Telushkin

THREE MEDIEVAL LIBELS

Throughout the Middle Ages, Christians repeated the accusation in the Gospel of John that the Jews are the Devil's children. Millions of Christians came to believe that the Jews were not actually human beings, but creatures of the Devil, allies of Satan, and personifications of the Antichrist. This diabolical dehumanization of the Jews rendered plausible every accusation against them.

Such was the case regarding the three anti-Jewish libels. . . . Jews murder Christians and drink their blood for ritual purposes; Jews poison Christians; and Jews kidnap the wafer that is transubstantiated into the body of Jesus and torture it by sticking needles into it, thus torturing Jesus.

Each of these three charges was made and believed despite the nonexistence of any supporting evidence except for confessions extracted under torture. But the absence of any evidence fooled few Christians agents of the Devil are notoriously tricky.

Ritual Murder

The first accusation of ritual murder was made in 1144 in England. According to a contemporary Christian document: "The Jews of Norwich brought a child before Easter, and tortured him with all the tortures wherewith our Lord was tortured, and on Long Friday hanged him on a rod

Taken from: Dennis Prager and Joseph Telushkin. *Why the Jews?* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), p. 96-104. Copyright (c) 1983 by Dennis Prager and Joseph Telushkin. Reprinted by permission of Simon & Schuster, Inc.

in hatred of our Lord, and afterwards buried him." A Christian convert from Judaism, Theobold of Cambridge, testified that Jews were required to sacrifice a Christian child annually, the choice of place being made at an annual conference of rabbis. This first accusation of ritual murder had no immediate consequences. As no evidence was ever produced that a murder had been committed, let alone a Jewish ritual murder, no Jew was tried for the alleged crime. But the long-term effects of this accusation were to be devastating. Between the twelfth and the twentieth centuries, Jews and often entire Jewish communities were put on trial on over 150 occasions for engaging in ritual murder. In almost every instance Jews were tortured and put to death.

The case of Hugh of Lincoln provides a typical example. In 1255, many Jews visited Lincoln, England, to attend the wedding of a prominent Jew's daughter. The day after the wedding, the body of a Christian boy, Hugh of Lincoln, missing for over three weeks, was found in a cesspool into which he had accidentally fallen. Matthew Paris, a contemporary Christian chronicler, wrote what he and other Christians believed to have really occurred: "The child was first fattened for ten days with white bread and milk, and then. . . almost all the Jews of England were invited to the crucifixion." Subsequently, a Jew named Copin was arrested, and under torture confessed "that the Jews had crucified the boy in the manner that the Jews had once crucified Jesus." One hundred Jews were arrested, and nineteen, including Copin, were hanged without trial.

The case of Hugh of Lincoln had a profound impact on the popular image of Jews in England and throughout the Western world. A century later Geoffrey Chaucer wrote of the Jews' murder of Hugh in "The Prioress's Tale" in his classic *The*

Canterbury Tales. In the nineteenth century, one of the leading essayists in England, Charles Lamb, wrote: "I confess that I have not the nerve to enter their synagogues. Old prejudices cling about me. I cannot shake off the story of Hugh of Lincoln." Dozens of ballads were inspired by Hugh's death. The two authors, on a visit to the Ozark Mountains of Arkansas, purchased a book of Ozark Mountain folk songs, printed in 1973, which included a ballad inspired by the "Jewish ritual murder" of Hugh of Lincoln. In it, a Jewish woman is described as inviting a young Christian boy into her house, whereupon:

She pinned a napkin o'er his face
And pinned it with gold pin
Then called for a vessel of gold
To catch his heart blood in,
In, in,
To catch his heart blood in.

. . .

By the fourteenth century the ritual murder charge had become associated with the Jewish holiday of Passover, attesting to the antisemitism which the Jews' adherence to their laws, as well as to their understanding of God, aroused among Christians. Christians accused Jews of using Christian blood in their unleavened bread (matzoh) and in their wine. In Savoy, in 1329, Christians claimed that the Jews "compound out of the entrails of murdered Christian children a salve of food called aharance (haroseth), which they eat every Passover in place of a sacrifice; they prepare this food at least every sixth year because they believe they are saved thereby.

. . .

In the 1930s the Nazis renewed the libel. The entire May 1, 1934, issue of the Nazi newspaper

Handout A-3 (cont.)

Der Sturmer was devoted to Jewish ritual murder, and the regular weekly edition of the paper routinely carried illustrations of rabbis sucking the blood of German children.

In the 1960s and the 1970s the blood libel was spread by the leading financial figure in the Arab world, the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. On a number of occasions Faisal informed newspaper interviewers that the Jews annually celebrated Passover by murdering a non-Jew and consuming his blood.

As a postscript to this discussion of the ritual murder charge, two ironic points are worthy of note. First, the blood libel was directed against the first nation in history to outlaw human sacrifice (Genesis 22, Deuteronomy 18:10) and the only nation in the ancient Near East to prohibit the consumption of any blood (Leviticus 3:17; 7:26; 17:10-14; Deuteronomy 12:15-16; 12:23-25).

• • •

Plots to Poison Christians

"If a king had a Jewish physician," notes James Parkes, "and did not actually perish on the battlefield, cloven in two by the battle-axe of the enemy, there is nothing surprising in his unfortunate doctor being accused of poisoning him." Parkes cites several instances of Jewish royal physicians being executed after a king's death.

In actuality almost every medieval Jewish doctor was endangered. In 1161, in Bohemia, eighty-six Jews were burned as punishment for an alleged plot of Jewish physicians to poison the populace. Such accusations were endorsed by leading intellectual circles in European society. In 1610, the medical faculty of the University of Vienna declared that Jewish physicians were bound

by Jewish law to kill every tenth Christian through the use of drugs.

Martin Luther said that "if they (the Jews) could kill us all, they would gladly do so, aye, and often do it, especially those who profess to be physicians. They know all that is known about medicine in Germany; they can give poison to a man of which he will die in an hour, or in ten or twenty years; they thoroughly understand this art."

The libels that the Jews were plotting to poison the Christian world had particularly tragic results during the Black Death of 1348-49. This plague, which killed about one-third of Europe's population, was blamed on the Jews despite the fact that the plague also killed Jews. A Christian physician, Konrad of Regensburg, in his *Buch der Natur*, was one of the few Christians to recognize the irrationality of blaming the Jew: "But I know that there were more Jews in Vienna than in any other German city familiar to me, and so many of them died of the plague that they were obliged to enlarge their cemetery. To have brought this on themselves would have been folly on their part." But the doctor's reasoning had no impact.

• • •

Antisemitic libels die hard. In 1953, Joseph Stalin accused a group of doctors, most of them Jews, of a plot to poison the Communist leadership of the Soviet Union. Stalin died three days before their trial was to begin, but we now know that Stalin intended to use the "doctors' plot" to arouse the Russian public against the Jews, and in the ensuing crisis, exile Russia's Jews to Siberia.

Desecration of the Host

In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council accepted the doctrine of transubstantiation as official

Church dogma. This dogma asserted that the wafer used at the Mass was miraculously transformed into the body of Jesus. The wafer was to be regarded not as a symbolic representation of Jesus, but as his actual body. . . .

Christian belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation led to the torture and murder of thousands of Jews. Since Jesus is brought to life through the wafer, would not the Jews who had once crucified him wish to torture and kill him again? In 1243, only twenty-eight years after the Fourth Lateran Council, the first accusation of "host desecration" occurred in Berlitz, near Berlin. The city's entire Jewish community was burned alive for allegedly torturing a wafer. Charges of "host desecration" spread throughout Europe. In Prague, in 1389, the Jewish community was collectively accused of attacking a monk carrying a wafer. Large mobs of Christians surrounded the Jewish neighborhood and offered the Jews the choice of baptism or death. Refusing to be baptized, three thousand Jews were murdered. In Berlin, in 1510, twenty-six Jews were burned and two beheaded for reportedly "desecrating the host." A charge of host desecration was reported as late as 1836 in Romania.

The "host desecration" libel is among the clearest examples of the Christian perception of the Jews as devils. Clearly, no one, not even a Jew, tortures cookies. If a person does torture one, it could mean only one thing: he, too, recognizes that it is the body of Jesus, and wishes to make him suffer. Who but the people of the Devil recognize the divinity of Jesus but wish to destroy him?

CHRISTIAN ROOTS OF THE HOLOCAUST

Sixteen hundred years of such hatred of Jews culminated in the Holocaust. Christianity did not create the Holocaust; indeed Nazism was anti-

Handout A-3 (cont.)

Christian, but it made it possible. Without Christian antisemitism, the Holocaust would have been inconceivable.

Nazi antisemitism differed from Christian antisemitism, however, in at least two important ways. It did not allow the Jews the choice of conversion or death, as medieval Christian antisemites had, but only death. And it called for the murder of all Jews, rather than, as the medieval Christian world had called for, the suffering of all Jews and the random murders of many. In virtually every other way, Nazism depended upon Christian antisemitic ideas, libels, policies, and legislation.

Hitler and the Nazis found in medieval Catholic anti-Jewish legislation a model for their own, and they read and reprinted Martin Luther's virulently antisemitic writings. It is instructive that the Holocaust was unleashed by the only major country in Europe having approximately equal numbers of Catholic and Protestants. Both traditions were saturated with Jew-hatred.

• • •

THE CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST

Matthew 27:24-25

"When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it.
"Then answered all the people and said, His blood be on us and our children."

Taken from: *The Holy Bible*, King James Version, Matthew 27:24-25.

VATICAN II'S DECLARATION ON THE CHURCH'S RELATIONS WITH THE JEWS, OCT. 28, 1965

True, the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ (cf. John 19, 6); still, what happened in his passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today. Although the Church is the new People of God, the Jews should not be represented as rejected by God or accursed, as if this followed from Holy Scripture. . . .

The Church, moreover, rejects every persecution against any person. For this reason and for the sake of the patrimony she shares with the Jews, the Church decries hatreds, persecutions and manifestations of anti-Semitism directed against Jews at any time and by anyone. . . .

No foundation therefore remains for any theory or practice that leads to discrimination between man and man or people and people insofar as their human dignity and the rights flowing from it are concerned. . . .

Taken from: *The Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions (Nostra Aetate)*; AAS 58(1966), pp. 740-744.

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE JEWS

Raul Hilberg

. . . A Christian is commanded to choose good and to reject evil. The greater his destructive task, therefore, the more potent are the moral obstacles in his way. These obstacles must be removed—the internal conflict must somehow be resolved. One of the principal means through which the perpetrator will attempt to clear his conscience is by clothing his victim in a mantle of

Taken from: Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: New View Points, 1973), pp. 8-9. Copyright (c) 1961 by Raul Hilberg. Used by permission of the author and his agents, Raines and Raines.

evil, by portraying the victim as an object that must be destroyed. . . .

The picture of the Jew which we encounter in Nazi propaganda and Nazi correspondence had been drawn several hundred years before. Martin Luther had already sketched the main outlines of that portrait, and the Nazis, in their time, had little to add to it. We shall look here at a few excerpts from Luther's book *About the Jews and Their Lies*. In doing so, let it be stressed that Luther's ideas were shared by others in his century, and that the mode of his expression was the style of his times. His work is cited here only because he was a towering figure in the development of German thought, and the writing of such a man is not to be forgotten in the unearthing of so crucial a conceptualization as this. Luther's treatise about the Jews was addressed to the public directly, and, in that pouring recital, sentences descended upon the audience in a veritable cascade. Thus the passage:

Herewith you can readily see how they understand and obey the fifth commandment of God, namely, that they are thirsty bloodhounds and murderers of all Christendom, with full intent, now for more than fourteen hundred years, and indeed they were often burned to death upon the accusation that they had poisoned water and wells, stolen children, and torn and hacked them apart, in order to cool their temper secretly with Christian blood.¹⁵

And:

Now see what a fine, thick, fat lie that is when they complain that they are held captive by us. It is more than fourteen hundred years since Jerusalem was destroyed, and at this time it is almost three hundred years since we Christians have been tortured and persecuted by the Jews all over the world (as pointed out above), so that we might well

¹⁵Luther, *Von den Juden*, p. diiii3.

Handout A-3 (cont.)

complain that they had now captured us and killed us—which is the open truth. Moreover, we do not know to this day which devil has brought them here into our country; we did not look for them in Jerusalem.¹⁶

Even now no one held them here, Luther continued. They might go whenever they wanted to. For they were a heavy burden, “like a plague, pestilence, pure misfortune in our country.” They had been driven from France, “an especially fine nest,” and the “dear Emperor Charles” drove them from Spain, “the best nest of all.” And this year, they were expelled from the entire Bohemian town, including Prague, “also a very fine nest”—likewise from Regensburg, Magdeburg, and other towns.¹⁷

Is this called captivity, if one is not welcome in land or house? Yes, they hold us Christians captive in our country. They let us work in the sweat of our noses, to earn money and property for them, while they sit behind the oven, lazy, let off gas, bake pears, eat, drink, live softly and well from our wealth. They have captured us and our goods through their accursed usury; mock us and spit on us, because we work and permit them to be lazy squires who own us and our realm; they are therefore our lords, we their servants with our own wealth, sweat, and work. They curse our Lord, to reward us and to thank us. Should not the devil laugh and dance, if he can have such paradise among us Christians, that he may devour through the Jews—his holy ones—that which is ours, and stuff our mouths and noses as reward, mocking and cursing God and man for good measure.

They could not have had in Jerusalem under David and Solomon such fine days on their own estate as they have now on ours which they rob and steal daily. But still they

complain that we hold them captive. Yes, we have and hold them in captivity, just as I have captured my calculus, my blood heaviness, and all other maladies . . .¹⁸

What have the Christians done, asks Luther, to deserve such a fate? “We do not call their women whores, do not curse them, do not steal and dismember their children, do not poison their water. We do not thirst after their blood.” It was not otherwise than Moses had said. God had struck them with frenzy, blindness, and raging heart.¹⁹

This is Luther’s picture of the Jews.

THE INTERACTING CAUSES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

George Eaton Simpson
and J. Milton Yinger

To get a more unified picture of the complicated spiral of forces that have created and support anti-Semitism, it might be well to draw together, in summary, the many factors we have traced above. Some of these factors have already been discussed, and so will only be listed here; others that have been disregarded until now will need fuller treatment. It is especially important to keep in mind that these forces are interactive, mutually reinforcing, and to an important degree self-perpetuating. Once a group has been set apart as a target for hostility, it is chosen more readily for that role the next time, because tradition suggests it, guilt feelings demand it, and perhaps the responses of the minority group, having differentiated the group more sharply, encourage it. These are among the interactive forces:

¹⁶Ibid., p. e2.

¹⁷Ibid., p. eii.

Taken from: George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger. *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), pp. 338-342. Reprinted by permission by the authors.

1. In the pre-Christian era, the Jewish people, living astride important trade routes and in a strategically vital area of the ancient world, were caught up in conflict with many nations. The conflicts were so continuous that traditions of antipathy were given root. They helped to develop a strong Jewish ethnocentrism which at the same time reinforced the antipathy.

2. With the domination of Europe by the Christian Church, Jews stood out as the only large minority religious group at a time when religious symbols were of enormous importance. The conflict between Christianity and Judaism was more than usually sharp because of the ambivalent relationship between the two—the Jews denied Christ, yet he was a Jew.

3. By the fifth century, Jews had been deprived of their citizenship. This action may have begun as religious intolerance, but it led to many social and economic consequences. Jews had no role in the gradual development of the nation-state system that was to predominate in Europe; they had no legal rights or powers until the end of the eighteenth century. Thus their differentiation from the rest of the “body politic” was increased.

4. Having no legal rights in the medieval world, Jews were permitted to reside in the cities only at the pleasure of the princes. The princes used them as revenue officers and “royal usurers.” The royal treasuries seemed always to be empty, so Jews were continually forced to demand payment from the unwilling citizenry. While being drawn into these “banking” activities, Jews were, oppositely, driven from many other occupations, forbidden to own land, and excluded from the artisan guilds. Thus their economic differentiation increased.

5. The rapid growth of cities and the development of commerce from the tenth century on encouraged more and more Christians to come into the formerly marginal occupations associated

¹⁶Ibid., pp. diii3, diii4.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. diii4, e.

HANDOUT A-3 (cont.)

with trade. They used their advantages as citizens and members of the dominant religion to fight their Jewish competitors, even succeeding in driving them out of most of the nations and cities of western Europe.

6. In eastern Europe, to which most of the Jews fled, they were still barred from citizenship, and the violent attacks which they had experienced at least since the days of the Crusades were repeated. This treatment kept in motion the forces of anti-Semitism.

7. Inevitably the lack of citizenship, economic discrimination, and personal violence to which the Jews were subjected intensified their cohesiveness as a cultural-religious group. Their ethnocentrism was maintained. The Jewish community seemed to be their only protection against the hostilities they continuously experienced. They were bicultural and binational; they could scarcely give full allegiance to the nation or culture in which they resided because of the interaction between the discrimination against them and their own ethnocentrism. They were blocked from the full participation which would have led in time to assimilation in the societies where they lived, and then were accused of being different. They could see no advantage in deserting a rich cultural heritage for a precarious position in the dominant society. Just how precarious that position might be has been shown again by the destruction of German Jewry, one of the most "assimilated" groups in the world. Biculturality has been an important part of the vicious circle that has kept anti-Semitism alive. Being different, Jews were more easily selected for hostile treatment; they were forced back upon their own group and its traditions, thus maintaining its differences. In earlier days, this vicious circle revolved mainly around religious symbols. Only

with the decline of feudalism and the rise of nations, often with relatively distinct cultures, did the position of Jews as "foreigners" become vital. Having evolved painfully into unified nations, the European countries found the Jewish aliens (whom they themselves had kept alien and had prevented from participating in their evolution into statehood) in their midst. It is doubtless significant that there is a high (but not perfect) correlation between the areas where independent statehood was achieved with great difficulty and the areas where anti-Semitism has been most prevalent. Compare England and France with Germany and Poland. There is also a social psychological aspect to the emphasis on nationalism. As Parsons says:

It is a striking fact that the extreme kind of nationalistic sentiment is often found in groups where frustration of the sort described above is likely to be most severe; as for instance, in the **lower middle class**. The pattern of sentiments seems to be somewhat as follows: "I may not be a successful person, able to live in luxury the way others do; but there is one thing you can't deny I am just as much an American (or German or Englishman) as anybody." Part of the intensity of national sentiment may undoubtedly be interpreted as "compensation" for frustration elsewhere. National identification allows the individual to participate in the glory of the achievements of **his** nation and relieves him of the blame for lack of **personal** achievements. Patriotism is very much of a social and economic leveler, and a very appropriate way in which to appease one's own uneasy conscience (usually on an unconscious level) and to "run down" the superior achievements or good fortune of others. The fact that the Jews form a suitable symbol in both these contexts is important in understanding the concentration of aggression on them. In an era when nationalism has loomed large, Jews have been si-

multaneously more provincial (with stanch loyalty to the Jewish community) and more international (with a sense of identification with the Jewish culture in every part of the world and frequently with friends and relatives residing in many different lands).

8. With anti-Semitism established by the factors listed above, it became fixed in tradition and passed on to each new generation in the socialization process. Once used, a pattern of prejudice is more likely to be used again than is a new pattern, for the old has acquired reinforcements. It has the sanction of tradition; it has helped to create some of the very differences by which it was at first justified; and the minority group has absorbed some of the projections of the dominant group—to admit that the prejudice was not "justified" would then require of the dominant group that they reexamine the projected evils which they have thrust from themselves. Since this is too painful an experience for most individuals, they maintain the old prejudice. Many Germans today have strong unconscious guilt feelings about the anti-Semitism of the Nazi regime, whether they participated in it or simply failed to oppose it. Those very guilt feelings may well **increase** their anti-Semitism. And in some individuals at least, the stronger the guilt, the stronger must be the prejudice to try to allay the tensions. Here is another important factor in the vicious circle of anti-Semitism.

9. Part of the tradition of prejudice is the stream of stories, jokes, and stereotypes that carries the culturally established attitude on to the next generation. Millions of people who have scarcely ever seen a Jew "know" why a joke is funny when it shows a "typical" Jewish trait or has a Jew acting in a way completely unfitting to the stereotype. By laughing at the joke we share a bond of common "knowledge" with our associates, we get a feeling of superiority, and by ac-

HANDOUT A-3 (cont.)

knowledging its humor we get a twisted kind of proof that our original attitude was correct. Literature contains a number of stereotyped and hostile pictures of Jews, beginning with the medieval miracle plays and the later morality plays indicating their connection with the popular forms of medieval Christian teachings. Chaucer's "Prioresse's Tale," Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, and Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* have helped to reinforce attitudes toward the Jews. Of themselves, they would not create a prejudice; it is the reader, more than the writer, who makes them reinforce a belief already established. In a different context they would have a wholly different effect.

It mattered little in the ultimate anti-Semitic effects that Shakespeare's Shylock is presented with great imaginative penetration. The name became in time the popular designation for all Jews, and the subtler humanity of the great dramatist's character remained unknown to the vast majority who have since its creation used the name Shylock as synonymous with Jew. . . . Most would agree that it is invidious and incompetent criticism which stresses anti-Semitism as such in creative literature like Shakespeare's. As Dickens once said in reply to Jewish criticisms of his character Fagin in *Oliver Twist*, "All the rest of the wicked dramatis personae are Christians." Even great literature read from the perspective of an already established prejudice, can be viewed as stereotypes.

10. Anti-Semitism has been sustained to some degree by the wide dispersion of Jews around the world. When a non-Jew moved from one nation to another, his pattern of prejudice was not broken, for in the new land he was likely to find Jews. International contacts did not challenge the

traditional prejudice against the Jews. ". . . Because he is a continuous minority in all the communicating lands of the Western world, the apprehensions regarding him as a minority were transferable, interchangeable, and even cumulative to a degree."

11. Some of the interactive forces that sustain anti-Semitism are particularly prominent in the modern world. They have given it a force and a tenacity unmatched even by medieval pogroms. Freud (and many others following him) contended that anti-Semitism is in part simply a way of attacking Christianity itself. The anti-Semitic person is protesting against Christ as a symbol of brotherhood, peace, and equalitarianism; he is protesting against the demands on his behavior that Christian teachings make. A song of the Hitler Youth declared: "Pope and Rabbi shall be gone. We want to be pagans once again. No more creeping to churches" and another said: "We are the joyous Hitler Youth. We do not need any Christian virtue. Our leader, Adolf Hitler, is our Saviour." "No more creeping to churches" an important phrase of self-revelation. Anti-Semitism thrives among those who feel Christianity as repression. They attack Jews not as Christ killers but as Christ givers. This hostility may break into the open, as in the case of the Hitler Youth, or it may be unconscious displacement as with the more traditionally religious Americans. The unconscious hostility that the latter feel toward Christian authority over their lives is displaced onto the Jews. Maurice Samuel insists that this is the cause of anti-Semitism. He draws a sharp line between anti-Jewish sentiment and anti-Semitic hallucination: "Anti-Jewish sentiment (a dislike of Jews based on contact, direct or indirect, with some Jews) is in fact the ordinary variety of racial, religious, and economic bitterness, overflowing in ordinary human abuse. Anti-Semitic hallucination is a unique phenomenon (the word

unique must be taken quite literally here) in modern group relations."

That anti-Semitism, like all other prejudices, has some unique aspects, and that the desire to attack Christianity obliquely is one of them seem to be highly probable. (We do not need to share Samuel's enthusiasm for this as the only explanation, or assume, as he does, that those who disagree with him are obstinate, naive, or themselves anti-Semitic.) This aspect of anti-Semitism has become increasingly important in recent years, particularly in Nazism, which was thoroughly antithetical to Christianity as well as to Judaism, but also in many other movements and in many individuals.

12. Having discussed the personality factors in prejudice at length above, we need only mention them here to bring them into the list of interacting forces. The loss of an integrating system of values, the "freedom" that is felt as loneliness and confusion, the alienation from satisfaction with one's work, the gap between achievement and one's desires—these and the other aspects of modern society that have contributed to insecurity have made a great many of us particularly susceptible to prejudice.

13. Akin to the theory that modern anti-Semitism rests in part on a reaction against Christianity is the theory that it is a disguised attack on liberal democracy as it has developed since the eighteenth century. This source of opposition to Jews is often a consciously chosen weapon in political-economic conflict. Anti-Semitism can obscure basic problems, can divert the hostility of the masses, can cloak an attack on democracy as "necessary" for protection against the dangerous Jews. "The history of anti-Semitism, in both its classical and modern form, shows that it is profoundly symptomatic of political, economic, and institutional change." In periods of rapid change, with their attendant frustrations, a nation with a

HANDOUT A-3 (cont.)

tradition of anti-Semitism can be led away from democracy and liberalism by the manipulation of hostility toward the Jews.

14. One of the forces involved in modern anti-Semitism implied above is explicit propaganda and the work of organized groups. Propaganda and "hate groups" are a "cause" of anti-Semitism only when there is already a favorable attitude toward their message. In such a situation they can increase and intensify the prejudice. Propaganda to whip up hatred of the Jews was carried on systematically by the Nazis and has been used extensively by "hate groups" in the United States.

15. Modern anti-Semitism has been sustained not only by the attacks on Christianity and democracy that characterize some aspects of our society, but also by the increasing importance of commerce and industry. The Jews, having been forced into the cities and into commercial occupations by the process that we have discussed, naturally took an important part (although one that is often exaggerated by anti-Semites) in the development of the modern economy. They became competitors of the increasingly powerful middle class, while at the same time representing to

those who were suffering from the new order the essence of the society they opposed. This later group included the old ruling class, who often identified Jews as the key factors in the new economy; and it included the masses of people in many situations. As trade developed in eastern Europe, Jews in high proportion took over the "marginal" job of buying and selling cattle. "Since a cattle dealer is never a popular figure in agricultural communities, the only living contact between the precapitalist peasant masses of central and eastern Europe and the market economy of modern industrial society was the Jew."

16. Oppositely, Jews have been used as symbols of communism—sometimes, as in the case of Hitler, by the same person who identifies them as the epitome of capitalism. Jews have, of course, participated in the growth of communism and other left-wing developments in the last century. It scarcely matters, for a theory of anti-Semitism, whether they have furnished more or less than a proportionate number of left-wingers, for prejudice can create the necessary observation.

17. Jews have been important in the rise of the trade-union movement. Since trade unionism has been able to get increasing rewards for work-

ers in all industrialized western nations, employers, and others have often fought it vigorously. Those who already had a prejudice against Jews could easily convince themselves that unionism was a Jewish product.

Modern urban industrial society is thus not only prejudice-prone, but peculiarly prone to anti-Jewish prejudice. The Jews, who occupy places on almost every status level of society, are more apt scapegoats for more diverse groups than is a minority that is concentrated primarily in lower status levels. Jews are importantly involved in most of the sharply conflicting developments of modern life. The prejudices of various groups are thus mutually reinforced. The long history of violence against Jews has created such deep-going guilt feelings that many people dare not admit—their ego involvement being so intricately related to the question—that their hostility to Jews is a categorical prejudice. Thus economic conflict, personal insecurity, traditional stereotypes, cultural disorganization, and propagandistic distortion have come together to create and sustain the blinding prejudice of anti-Semitism.

HANDOUT A-4

ANTI-SEMITISM IN LITERATURE

"This worship, however introduced, is upheld by its antiquity; all their other customs, which are at once perverse and disgusting, owe their strength to their badness. The most degraded out of other races, scorning their national beliefs, brought to them their contributions and presents. This augmented the wealth of the Jews, as also did the fact that among themselves they are inflexibly honest and ever ready to show compassion, though they regard the rest of mankind with all the hatred of enemies."

Source: Tacitus, *THE HISTORIES*,
Book V. (circa 55-120 A.D.)

"In Asia, in a city rich and great
There was a Jewry set amidst the town,
Established by a rich lord of the state
For usury and gain of ill renown,
Hateful to Christ and those who are His own,
And through that street a man might ride or wend,
For it was free and open at each end."

Source: Geoffrey Chaucer, *THE CANTERBURY TALES*, "The Prioress's Tale" (1386-1400)

Shylock. (Aside) "How like a fawning publican he looks!
I hate him for he is a Christian,
But more for that in low simplicity
He lends out money gratis and brings down
The rate of usance here with us in Venice.
If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him.
He hates our sacred nation, and he rails,
Even there where merchants most do congregate,
On me, my bargains, and my well won thrift,
Which he calls interest. Cursed be my tribe,
If I give him!"

Source: William Shakespeare, *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*, Act I. (1596)

"What is the object of the Jew's worship in this world? Usury. What is his worldly God? Money. Very well then; emancipation from usury and money, that is from practical real Judaism, would

constitute the emancipation of our time....The social emancipation of Jewry is the emancipation of society from Jewry."

Source: Karl Marx (1818-1883) quoted in Edward Flannery, *The Anguish of the Jews*, p. 167.

HANDOUT A-5

THE JEW AS SCAPEGOAT

Gordon Allport

Anti-Semitism is thought to reach back at least to the fall of Judea in 586 B.C. When the Jews were dispersed, they took with them their relatively rigid and unbending customs. Dietary laws prohibited them from eating with others; intermarriage was forbidden. They were even by their own prophet Jeremiah considered "stiff-necked." Wherever they went their orthodoxy presented a problem.

• • •

Since the early Christians were themselves Jews, it took the first two or three centuries of the Christian era for this fact to be forgotten. Then only did the accusation arise that the Jews (as a group) were responsible for the Crucifixion. Subsequently, for centuries it seems that to a large

Taken from: Gordon W. Allport. *The Nature of Prejudice*. (c) 1954. Addison-Welsey. Reading, Massachusetts. pp. 248, 250-51. Reprinted by permission.

number of people the epithet "Christ killer" was a sufficient cause for scapegoating the Jew on any and all occasions. Certain it is that by the time of St. John Chrysostom (fourth century) elaborate anti-Semitic homilies were preached, accusing Jews not only of the Crucifixion but of all other conceivable crimes as well.

• • •

Jews, partly at least because of their religious deviance, were excluded in many countries for long periods of time from owning land. Only transient and fringe occupations were open to them. When the Crusaders needed money, they could not borrow from Christians (whose code did not allow usury). Jews became the moneylenders. In so doing they invited customers but also contempt. Excluded not only from landowning but also from handicraft guilds, Jewish families were forced to develop mercantile habits. Only moneylending, trading, and other stigmatized occupations were open to them.

This pattern has to some extent persisted. Occupational traditions of the European Jews transferred to new lands when Jews emigrated. To some extent the same discrimination barred them from conservative occupations. They were

again obliged to develop the fringe activities where risk, shrewdness, enterprise were required. We have seen how this factor led large numbers of Jewish people, especially in New York City, into retailing, theatrical ventures, and professions. This somewhat uneven distribution on the economic checkerboard of the nation made the Jewish group conspicuous; it also intensified the stereotype that they work too hard, make lots of money, and engage in shady dealings in the less stable occupations.

Looking backward once more over the historical course of events, we find another consideration of importance. Lacking a homeland, the Jews were regarded by some as parasites upon the body politic. They had certain attributes of a nation (ethnic coherence plus a tradition of nationhood). But they were, in fact, the only nation on earth without a home. People who distrusted "bi-loyalty" accused them of being less patriotic, less honorable within their adopted land than they should be.

A further factor to be noted is that the insistence upon scholarship and intellectual attainment is a longstanding mark of Jewish culture. Jewish intellectualism calls to mind one's own defects of ignorance and laziness.

HANDOUT A-6

GROWTH OF RACIAL ANTI-SEMITISM

Anti-Semitism had roots in Germany and other European countries centuries ago, and racist doctrines became widespread in Germany halfway through the nineteenth century. It was in the '70s of that century that Jew-haters first introduced the very notion of "anti-Semitism," of being against Jews not as followers of a certain religion or sons of a separate people but as members of a given race. Political anti-Semitism appeared towards the end of the century in Germany and other European countries as part of the programme of political parties or even as the main plank in their platform, and as a weapon in the political and propaganda struggle for the soul of the masses. But it was only in the '30s of this century with the growth of "National-Socialism" and Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany, that racial anti-Semitism was adopted by a mass po-

Taken from: Yad Vashem, Jerusalem. *The Holocaust and Resistance: An Outline of Jewish History in Nazi Occupied Europe, 1933-1945*. 1972. Section entitled, "Growth of Anti-Semitism." Reprinted by permission of Yad Vashem: Jerusalem, Israel.

litical party and then became the official policy of the Third Reich.

Racist doctrine added a new and substantial dimension to traditional anti-Semitism. Hatred of Jews in the past had had specific sources and certain dominant lines of development. The hatred that drew on Christian concepts saw the People of Israel and the People of the Messiah, but also a people which had denied its mission and refused to recognize the Redeemer. Hence, this people was doomed to eternal abhorrence as the sinful bearer of the mark of Cain. It must be kept in a state of servitude, misery and degradation, and the very fact of its bitter fate as the eternal wanderer among the nations, delivered over to Christian mercies, was itself proof of the truth of Christian teachings. In later times, anti-Semitism was strengthened by greater stress on economic, social and political phenomena. But racist anti-Semitism tacked onto a supposedly Darwinist view of society, gave traditional Jew-hatred new validity, and greater dynamism. According to the racial theorists, the danger of the Jewish evil's perverting society did not spring from the Jew's mistaken religious beliefs, their economic role or their tendency to live as a closed

social group. Jewish identity was embodied in Jewish biological singularity, in Jewish blood.

In the past, it is clear, the Jew could find refuge from persecution. By assimilating, by detaching himself from his traditional background or by changing his religion, the Jew in Europe could acquire the right to be absorbed into society. The racist concept barred the Jews from this possibility.... According to Nazism, war was being waged constantly between the races. The superior races constituted the physical and spiritual elite of humanity, the expression of man's courage and creative powers. Over against them, the inferior races represented all that was vile and destructive. The German people were the highest branch of the Nordic-Aryan race, while the Jews were a sort of subhuman race, ceaselessly undermining the correct ordering of the world's affairs, and seeking to rob the superior race of its authority and leadership. The Germans were bound by their destiny to wage unflinching battle for primacy and power, which were the natural German heritage. Such notions as liberalism, democracy, socialism, and communism were nothing but destructive Jewish inventions.

HANDOUT A-7

THE HOAX OF THE CENTURY

Edward H. Flannery

The **Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion**, the "greatest forgery of the century," were the handiwork of Russian anti-Semites of this period. They are important as one of the chief source books for twentieth century anti-Semitism, and because of the insight they furnish into its nature. The **Protocols** first appeared in 1905—printed by the government press—as part of a book by a Russian mystic, Sergei Nilus. Nilus claimed that he received them in 1901 from an acquaintance and presented them as extracts of the 1897 World Zionist Congress in Basel which allegedly dealt with plans for world conquest that date from Solomon in 929 B.C. In substance the **Protocols** are a series of twenty-four lectures by the so-called "Elders"²⁸ on plans and techniques for subjugating the world and establishing a Jewish world state. They comprise a motley array of supposed examples of secret Jewish domination of history and plans for the future, including methods of stupefying gentiles, controlling the press, finance, and government. Realistic details related to Jewish activities on the contemporary scene

²⁸Elders of Zion appears nowhere in Jewish literature.

Taken from: Edward H. Flannery, *The Anguish of the Jews: Twenty-Three Centuries of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Macmillan, 1972). Copyright (c) by Edward H. Flannery, 1965. Reprinted by permission.

are added to impart an aura of plausibility. Actually, the lectures abound with contradictions and absurdities from beginning to end. In no sense whatever could they be considered a coherent or even possible program for world domination.

Even so, they enjoyed a phenomenal influence both before and after their exposure as a crude forgery. Despite several re-editions of the original, they obtained no real notoriety until 1919 when they received excited attention in Germany and England. It is strange that the **Protocols**, which failed in their original purpose of influencing the Czar against the growing and allegedly "Jewish-Masonic" constitutional movement at the turn of the century, attained singular success after the war in many countries where Jews achieved a certain prominence in public life. With the German translation in 1919, the **Protocols** spread throughout the Western world. Translations were made into French, English, Polish, Scandinavian, Italian, Japanese, and Arabic. Three editions appeared in America where, thanks to the efforts of Henry Ford and his *The Dearborn Independent*, they were given the widest circulation.²⁹ After the exposure, anti-Semites went to desperate lengths to prove the authenticity of the **Protocols**, and continued to use them into the thirties. Their peak of influence was reached in Nazi Germany.

Exposure came in 1921 when a *London Times* correspondent noticed the close parallel between the **Protocols**, and a satire on Napoleon III by a

French lawyer named Maurice Joly. Almost fifty per cent of the **Protocols**, in effect, was a direct plagiarism of Joly's work. The idea of the secret meeting of "Learned Elders" was borrowed from an adventure story by Hermann Goedsche, the plot of which was laid in a Prague cemetery where the princes of the twelve tribes of Israel, no less, met to discuss plans of world conquest. And there were other sources. It is now all but certain that the compiling of the **Protocols** was done by an unknown anti-Semite of the Parisian office of the Russian *Ochrana* (secret police) near the turn of the century, whence they came into Nilus' hands.

The triumphant course of this "silly humbug which millions of readers have taken to be a system frighteningly wise and around which there has been raised the cry of world peril"³⁰ renders a valuable insight into the profoundly irrational nature of modern anti-Semitism. When otherwise brilliant minds are so deceived and when some, even after irrefragable disproof, persist in believing, we are at grips with a collective psychosis, with a will to hate and destroy well beyond the pale of human rationality. We have in the **Protocols**, in Valentin's words, a "sort of diabolism in a new form, a secularized diabolism."³¹

²⁹See *infra*, p. 257.

³⁰Pierre Charles, S.J., "The Learned Elders of Zion," *The Bridge*, op. cit., I, 171.

³¹Hugo Valentin, *Anti-Semitism* (London: Gollancz, 1936), p. 181.

B. Nazi Thought

Statement of Purpose

In addition to racial and religious anti-Semitism, the Third Reich inculcated beliefs and practices that must be viewed as unacceptable by students in American society. It is important that the students go beyond the popular myths of Nazism in order to understand the reality and evil of the Third Reich. As part of this concept, students should realize that the Nazis were not original thinkers. Their philosophies were taken from ideas held by other racist and nationalistic writers and artists.

Objectives:

- Students will identify the major aspects of the official Nazi programs which were taken from earlier Nazi policies;
- Students will examine the sources of the ideas held by the Nazis;
- Students will examine the practical effects of the Nazi programs on the people of the Third Reich.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Ask students to list those aspects of their lives in the United States that they appreciate or value the *most*. Structure their responses by providing them with specific categories such as: Personal Freedoms, Economic Choices, Civil Rights. This exercise could be completed in small activity groups with one student serving as group leader and another as recorder. After listing student responses on the chalkboard, distribute Handout B-1.1, "Nazi Thought." Have students compare and contrast these quotes by leading Nazis with their listing of the aspects of American life they value the most. As an alternative strategy, read each Nazi quote to the students and ask them

to identify that personal freedom or civil right violated or threatened by the Nazi dictum.

Handout B-1.2 reviews the historic roots of Nazi anti-Semitism and nationalistic thought. This reading identifies the philosophers, scholars and artists who provided the Nazis with the foundations for their attacks on Jews and other "inferior" people. Emphasize with students that the Nazis were not original thinkers in terms of anti-Semitic philosophy. Rather, the Nazis drew on the racist writings and arguments of the past.

After students read Handout B-1.2, "Anti-Semitic Reactions," ask them to identify the German writer, philosopher or artist who provided the basis for the quotes listed on Handout B-1.1. Be sure that students understand that the individuals described in Handout B-1.2 represented respectable German society and were not viewed as social outcasts. Ask students to describe how these writers and the Nazis used their positions of authority and respectability to foster prejudicial attitudes (see again, Unit I).

As a follow-up activity, you might ask students to complete the following writing (composition) assignment.

Setting:

You are an American reporter visiting Berlin in 1938. Your editor has heard that some leading National Socialists (Nazis) have been speaking publicly about their beliefs. She wants some coverage on the scope of the Nazi platform. You decide to write a news story covering these public speaking events.

Assignment:

Using Handouts B-1.1 and B-1.2, write a newspaper article describing some of the ideas

that you heard expressed in public speeches during the last few weeks.

- Distribute copies of Handout B-1.3, and after students read the quotes, ask them to identify the roots of Hitler's anti-Semitic statements. Ask students to explain how Hitler's anti-Semitism differs from other anti-Jewish beliefs. Have them explain how exterminatory anti-Semitism springs from Hitler's statements on the Jews.
- Handouts B-2.1 and B-2.2 deal with various aspects of German life under the Nazis. Students should be able to describe how the Third Reich serves as a case study in modern day totalitarian techniques. As students study these handouts, ask them to identify examples of how the Nazis were anti-labor, anti-culture and anti-Christian, as well as anti-Semitic. Ask students to identify those Nazi restrictions that would trouble them the most and tell why.
- The Nazis' racial thinking also extended to the Slavic people of Eastern Europe. Hitler considered the Slavs an inferior people capable only of serving as slave labor for the Third Reich. Nazi racial attitudes toward Slavic people and other non-Germans living east of the Elbe River, as well as Jews, were best expressed by the concept "Untermenschen." Handouts B-3.1 and 3.2 include a Nazi definition for this concept as well as other anti-Slavic statements made by Hitler and other Nazi leaders.

As students read Handouts B-3.1 and B-3.2, ask them to prepare responses to the following discussion questions:

- What did the Nazis mean by the word "Untermenschen?"
- How did the Nazis apply the term "Untermenschen" to their racist policies of German expansion and destruction in Eastern Europe?

- What distinctions did the Nazis make between those people they called "Untermenschen?"
- How did Himmler suggest Nazis treat the various ethnic and national groups living in Eastern Europe? What kind of educational program did Himmler propose for Eastern people? How did he plan to deal with the children of "our (German) blood"?
- According to the report made by the United States Embassy representative in Berlin, how did the Nazis discriminate against Poles living in German-occupied Poland? Why was it important for the Nazis to identify members of what they called the Polish "race"?
- Refer back to Unit II. B. and explain why the concept of a Polish or Jewish "race" serves as an unscientific and false classification scheme for describing those people who comprise these two ethnic and national groups.
- "Whoever has the Youth has the Future." Adolf Hitler. The Nazis used the German educational system to inculcate values which reflected Hitler's and other leading Nazis' philosophies on race, religion, parenting,

employment, and most other aspects of German life. By controlling the goals for education, the Nazis planned to produce a society of automatons who would follow all of the Fuehrer's orders without question. Obedience to Nazi authority was a critical goal for the Nazi-controlled German schools.

The readings in Handout B-4 include the goals for Nazi-controlled schools, recollections about growing up in Nazi Germany, and examples of the kinds of instructional materials used in these schools.

Handout B-4.1 describes the general philosophical goals for education. As students read this material, ask them to identify the kinds of skills the Nazis wanted all German young people to acquire in school. Using Erika Mann's *School for Barbarians*, have students discuss what everyday life in Nazi Germany was like for a teenaged girl or boy. Ask students what roles conformity and obedience played in Nazi society. Have students speculate on why the Nazis aimed their propaganda at the very young. Ask small groups of students to read the material about Nazi youth organizations and have them explain how these organizations were structured. Ask students

why the Nazis placed such heavy emphasis on military discipline, obedience to authority, conformity and symbolism. Refer back to the concepts taught in Unit I (e.g., Conformity; Obedience to Authority).

Handout, B-4.2, focuses on Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda aimed at the very young. The anti-Semitic children's reader, "Don't Trust the Fox in the Green Meadow Nor the Jew on His Oath," was written by Elvira Bauer and sold more than seventy thousand copies. As students read the Nuremberg trial transcript about this book, have them identify the anti-Jewish stereotypes inculcated by the Nazi educators. Ask students how materials and lessons such as the examples included in Handout B-4 promoted prejudicial thinking in German youth during the Nazi period.

- For further background reading on Nazi education, teachers and students might consult:
 - Peter J. Hovenier. "The Education of a Loyal Nazi." *Social Education*, October 1983.
 - Horst Kruger. *A Crack in the Wall: Growing Up Under Hitler*. (New York: Fromm International Publishers, 1982.)

HANDOUT B-1.1

NAZI THOUGHT

Earl Raab

These statements were made by leading National Socialists (Nazis):

- A. "There are no personal liberties of the individual...which must be respected by the state... There can no longer be any question of a private sphere free of state influence...."
- B. Hitler: "(My goal is)...the preservation and fostering of a community of living beings who are physically and mentally alike."

Taken from: Earl Raab. *The Anatomy of Nazism*. (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961), pp. 11-12; 16; 22-26. Reprinted by permission of Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

- C. "The (Nazi) Party stands above and beside the state as the wielder of...authority.... The legal position of the party is, therefore, that of a completely sovereign authority."
- D. "The National Socialists (Nazis) believe in Hitler who embodies their will.... Only what Adolf Hitler, our Fuehrer, allows or does not allow is our conscience." Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer. (One people, one empire, one leader.)
- E. "We National Socialists believe that in political affairs, Adolf Hitler is infallible."
- F. "The races of mankind are markedly different in the Nature and also in the extent of their gifts, and the Germanic races belong to the most gifted group, the group usually termed Aryan."
- G. "We wish for no other God than Germany."
- H. "...I am neither a Catholic—nor a Protestant. I am a National Socialist."
- I. "It is only on one or two exceptional points that Christ and Hitler stand comparison, for Hitler is far too big a man to be compared with one so petty."
- J. "A future German Reich will never accept a woman without children it does not matter whether she is married or not as a full member of the community of people. Consequently, adultery...in so far as (children) result therefrom, should not be made subject to legal prosecution."

HANDOUT B-1.2

ANTI-SEMITIC REACTION

Charles Patterson

Much of the nationalism and anti-Semitism of modern German thought began as a reaction against the ideas of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution that spread across the German states in the wake of Napoleon's successful military campaigns. These ideas of revolution and equality were threatening to the rulers of the German states and principalities. Their discomfort with French influence, and with the emancipation of the Jews that came in its wake, turned into a fierce nationalism. Germans denounced the liberal ideals of the French—liberty, equality, and fraternity—and asserted the distinctiveness and superiority of the German Volk (people).

Racial Anti-Semitism

The philosopher Johann Fichte (1762-1814) was the father of modern German anti-Semitism as well as German nationalism. According to him, the Germans were superior to the French, the Jews, and all the other peoples of the world. "Among all the modern peoples," he wrote, "it is you (the German people) in whom the seed of human perfection most decidedly lies." Only the Germans had a language that was pure, he claimed, and one day it would be the Germans who would usher in a new glorious era of history. In 1793 he argued against Jewish emancipation. The only way he could imagine giving Jews their rights would be "to cut off all their heads in one

night, and to set new ones on their shoulders, which should contain not a single Jewish idea."

Other leading German philosophers and biblical scholars in the early part of the nineteenth century were also openly anti-Semitic. Georg Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), who followed Fichte in the philosophy chair at the University of Berlin, glorified war, the power of the state, and German destiny in his lectures and writings. He predicted that one day Germany would have a powerful authoritarian, militaristic state that would rejuvenate the world. The great influence of Fichte, Hegel, and other German thinkers did much to set the tone and the direction of Germany's later anti-Semitism....

Anti-Semitism that was essentially racial in nature (Jews despised simply because they were descendants of Jews) became prominent in Germany in the 1870s. From there it sent waves out into France, Austria-Hungary, and even Russia, which had plenty of its own anti-Jewish hatred. After this outburst of racial anti-Semitism at the end of the century in Europe, it festered on into the twentieth century, the era in which it would be given its deadly ideological shape by the policies and programs of Nazi Germany.

In 1871 the anti-Semitic priest, Father August Rohling, published *The Talmud Jew*, a vicious attack on Judaism that went through many editions even after its refutation by respected scholars. The financial crash of 1873 increased the suspicion that somehow the Jews were responsible.

The very origin of the term "anti-Semitism" is German. It made its first appearance in 1879 in Wilhelm Marr's book, *The Victory of Judaism over Germanism*, in which he warned against the Jewish domination of German life. The distinction between "Aryan" and "Semitic" had originally applied to differences of language. Soon,

however, racial theorists began making generalizations about the Aryan-Nordic race (represented in its purest form by the Germans) and the Semitic race (whose only representatives in Europe were the Jews).

In 1879—the year Marr's book was published—the German chancellor Nismarck turned against the National Liberal Party, some of whose leaders were Jewish. From that point on, anti-Semites openly attacked the role of Jews in the liberal democratic cause. In the *Reichstag* (the German Parliament), denunciations of Jews became commonplace.

Prominent in this upsurge of anti-Semitism was the Protestant court chaplain, Adolf Stocker, who founded the Christian Social Workmen's Union to fight "Jewish Socialism" and the "Jewish domination of German life." A petition calling for restrictions against the Jews of Germany collected three hundred thousand signatures. Anti-Jewish boycotts were organized, anti-Semitic congresses were convened, and Jews were physically as well as verbally abused.

Jews were attacked from all sides because of their important place in the economy. On the one hand, they were accused of being greedy capitalists who controlled banks and department stores. On the other hand, when some Jews gained prominence in liberal and socialist circles, they were accused of being radicals and communists. Conservative Christians continued to perceive Jews as a threat to what was left of their social order. In the eyes of most Germans, the country's Jews, both emancipated Jews and those who arrived more recently from eastern Europe, were regarded as an alien presence.

From the book *Anti-Semitism: The Road to the Holocaust and Beyond* by Charles Patterson. Copyright (c) 1982 by Charles Patterson. Reprinted with permission of the publisher, Walker and Company.

HANDOUT B-1.3

HITLER ON THE JEWS

For Adolf Hitler, anti-Semitism was an unalterable creed, something which permeated his thinking and the thinking of the Nazi leadership. The Jew was Hitler's personal enemy, from his days in Vienna to his dying day in Berlin where he called once more for the destruction of "the prisoner of all peoples: international Jewry."

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler displayed a violent anti-Semitism with roots in traditional and racial anti-Jewish attitudes.

Taken from: Adolf Hitler. *Mein Kampf*. Translated by Ralph Manheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971).

- A. "The personification of the devil as the symbol of all evil assumes the living shape of the Jew."
- B. "I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the almighty creator. By defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord."
- C. "With satanic joy in his face, the black-haired Jewish youth lurks in wait for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood, thus stealing her from her people."
- D. "In the course of the centuries their outward appearance had become Europeanized and had taken on a human look; in fact, I even took them for Germans."
- E. "Wherever I went, I began to see Jews, and the more I saw, the more sharply they became distinguished in my eyes from the rest of humanity."
- F. "The Jew was never in possession of a culture of his own, the foundations of his intellectual work was always provided by others."
- G. "I learned to look for the Jew in all branches of cultural and artistic life."
- H. "The Jew is always a parasite in the body of other people. . . . He is and remains the typical parasite, a sponger who like a noxious bacillus keeps spreading as soon as a favorable medium invites him. And the effect of his existence is also like that of spongers; wherever he appears, the host people dies out after a shorter or longer period."

HANDOUT B-2.1

LIFE UNDER NAZISM

Earl Raab

All the waking hours of the Germans were directed towards "service to the community" in ways prescribed by the Nazis. Such a schedule for 66,000,000 people required superorganization. Dr. Ley, head of the Labor Front, boasted: "Our state never releases the human being from the cradle to the grave. We start with the child of three years: as soon as he begins to think, he is already given a little flag to carry. Thereafter follow school, Hitler Youth, S.A. (Nazi troops), military service. We do not let go of the human being and when all that is over, the Labor Front comes and takes him once more and does not let him go until he dies, whether he likes it or not."

Youth and Education

The Nazis stripped the states and localities of all control over the schools. Parents' and teachers' organizations were abolished. Teachers' associations were disbanded, and all teachers required to join the Nazi teachers' association. All students' organizations were abolished and replaced by a German Student Corporation under the control of the Nazis. The courses of study were laid down by the Nazis, and designed to downgrade the intellect. The German Student Corporation decreed that a good political record is better than a good scholastic record. Hitler maintained that education must be aimed not at pumping in knowledge, but at breeding absolutely healthy bodies.

Taken from: Earl Raab. *The Anatomy of Nazism*. (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961), pp. 11-12; 16. Reprinted by permission of Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

But the Nazis went beyond the schools. They established an official youth organization, along military lines, to develop the young people in their out-of-school hours. There were organizations of young people to include boys from the ages of 10-14, and girls of the same age. The Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls took over the boys from 14-18 and the girls from 14-21. All other youth organizations were abolished, and families that balked at letting their children join were considered suspect. The head of this youth apparatus, Baldur Von Schirach, said: "Parents who prevent their sons from entering the Hitler Youth will be punished." The Reich Master Craftsman warned the Germans: "In the future, no apprentice will be engaged who has not been a member of the Hitler Youth."

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Working Life

Businessmen, workingmen, and farmers were also organized like an army, to serve the needs of "the community."

Business life was regulated through a National Economic Chamber composed of divisions and sub-divisions representing different industries and also different regions. Every business was required to belong. In a sense, the German economy became one huge corporation with Hitler as chairman of the board.

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The workingmen of Nazi Germany also were mobilized by the Nazis. As soon as the Nazis took power, all labor unions were abolished. The Labor Front was established as an official state

body which all employees had to join. But the Labor Front did not involve itself with questions of wages or working conditions. It was mainly concerned with providing indoctrination for the workers.

The "Leader" principle was officially applied to business life, and employees were empowered to fix wages and other conditions of employment, subject to the approval of the state. Strikes were prohibited. Workingmen were considered soldiers in the service of the Nazi community, and were not expected to think of their own material welfare.

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The farmers were similarly organized under a central Nazi agency called the Food Estate. Farmers were told what to produce, how much to produce, what techniques to use, where to market their produce, and what prices to charge. They even had to have permission from the state in order to take ownership of farms which they had inherited.

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Neither was any group nor individual allowed to utter any dissent from or criticism of the government. Nazi law provided punishment for any statement "likely to undermine the confidence of the people in the political leadership." This meant, in effect, that a German was breaking the law if he expressed criticism of the government even to his own family over the breakfast table. The Hitler Youth were required to report such criticisms, and there were numerous cases of children reporting their own parents to the police.

HANDOUT B-2.1 (cont.)

Leisure Time

This government order was typical: "In order to assure the penetration of the theatre with our Party philosophy, the Reich Theatre Chamber has given an order that in the future, every theatre must employ eight actors and stage experts who are Party members." The Reich Theatre Chamber was but one.

It was difficult to find recreation, even in sports, that were uncontaminated by propaganda. The Nazis explained: "All sports organizations must get instruction in politics and party philosophy. Non-political sport, so-called neutral sport, is unthinkable."

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Treatment of Human Beings

The Nazis deliberately used terror and brutality to maintain power and keep the populations cowed. Organized brutality, besides being a political method for rooting out opposition, indicates a government's basic attitude toward human life and dignity. It reveals a fear and hatred of people....

Due Process of Law

Due process of law means that a person cannot be prosecuted without adequate proof that he actually violated the conditions of the law. It means that he must have an open court trial, with a jury if he so desires, in which he can bring in his own witnesses and challenge the witnesses against him. The Nazis exhibited complete contempt for due process. One of their first acts was to set up special "courts" for political offenses, in which no legal proof had to be offered in order for the judge to convict the accused. Indeed, a person could be retroactively convicted of a crime which had not been a crime at the time he committed it.

The Nazis carried this approach to its logical conclusion: the police were empowered to arrest, convict, and punish people without any trial, and for any offenses they saw fit, whether a law was violated or not.

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Religion

In order to totally blanket the minds of the people, it was necessary for the Nazis to establish full

control over all religious institutions. Not only did the Nazis consider organized religions as competitors, but they also believed that the pulpit was a channel for independent expression.

One of the officials of the Nazi Christian Church said: "We must get rid of the Old Testament. The Old Testament has rightly been called the most questionable book in the whole history of the world. It does not, cannot, fit with a racially correct Christianity. A radical revision too must be made of the whole theology of the Rabbi Paul."

A Nazi magazine commented on the Golden Rule in 1939: "This fundamental law of Christianity completely contradicts our moral conscience, contradicts above all the warrior-like nature peculiar to the soul of our race."

The children were taught to pray to Hitler instead of God. Grace before meals given to the poor children by the Nazi Welfare Committee ended: "For this food, my Fuehrer, my thanks I render." Another official child's prayer ended: "Fuehrer, my Fuehrer, my faith and my light, Heil my Fuehrer."

HANDOUT B-2.2

THE NAZI PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCHES 1933-1945

John S. Conway

When Adolf Hitler was appointed Reich Chancellor of Germany by President Hindenburg on 30 January 1933 and took the oath to defend the constitution of the Weimar Republic, he had, so far as is known, no clear policy on the relations between Church and State. The suddenness of his rise to power, his constant maneuverings between the existing political groups, the frequency and fervour of his speechmaking, and his preoccupation with the political and economic conditions of Germany, had pushed less significant matters into the background.

There can, however, be little doubt that his fundamental hostility to Christianity long preceded his rise to power. Born and brought up in a Catholic household and educated at a Catholic school, he had quickly abandoned whatever Christian principles he had learnt in childhood, in favour of ideas prevalent in the early years of the century, which derived, albeit in a perverted form, from Darwin, Nietzsche and Gobineau. It was, in fact, during his years as a partially employed labourer in Vienna, and in the bitter experiences and disillusionments of the First World War, that Hitler worked out his personal creed and rejected both Christianity and the Christian Church.

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When the German military campaigns began in the years 1939, 1940 and 1941, no plans had

Taken from: John S. Conway. *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches: 1933-1945* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), pp. 1-2; 291-2; 195-7; 300-1; 322-3. (c) 1968 by John S. Conway. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, Inc., publishers.

been prepared beforehand on the manner in which the Churches were to be treated in the conquered countries. As in other aspects of their policy, the Nazi attitude to the Churches was dictated partly by racial theories, partly by military and political exigencies, and partly by the continuing rivalries within the Nazi hierarchy, whereby each of Hitler's henchmen strove to hold as much of the conquered areas as he could grasp and as much of the larger spoils as he could seize. In general, Nazi church policy in the occupied areas reflected, on a larger scale and in more extreme measure, the same mixture of fanaticism, contradictions and inconsistencies as had been seen in Germany proper.

At the outset, the *ad hoc* arrangements adopted in the occupied countries left room for a wide divergence in the treatment of the Churches. Broadly speaking, one group within the Nazi hierarchy advocated a flexible policy of persuasion and gradual assimilation, while another pressed for repression and persecution. As the war progressed, and as the more extreme anti-clerical members of the Party organization rose in Hitler's favour, the first group became discredited and Hitler increasingly inclined towards the plans for forcible suppression which Himmler, Bormann and their associates tried out in certain of the eastern territories. Undeterred by opposition from their colleagues or by the reasons which had held them in check within the borders of Germany proper, Himmler and Bormann began to put into operation the measures which were to constitute the Nazis' 'final settlement' of Church-State relations. In the Warthegau, the model Nazi region that had been carved out of conquered Polish territory, the apotheosis of Nazi Church policy can be seen. The draconian measures introduced there can leave little doubt of what would have happened elsewhere had Hitler been able to carry out his frequently re-

peated threat 'after the war, to deal decisively with the Churches'.¹

In this process of 'final settlement' three stages are discernible: first, the eradication of the Churches' resistance, second, the elimination of any outside interference, including that of the Vatican; and third, the establishment of a new era in Church-State relations, in which the Churches would be subordinated to the German 'New Order', the priests stripped of their privileges, and Christianity left to suffer what Hitler called 'a natural death'.

I. The Eradication of the Churches' Resistance

In the areas of Europe where the full force of Nazi violence was unleashed, the Churches were therefore destined to suffer drastically. In Poland, for example, Hitler refused to consider any suggestion that the country might be treated as a political ally or satellite, and ordered the mobilization of every Nazi agency to carry out the Nazi racial theories *in toto*. The Poles were to be treated as inferior beings, which, the Nazis declared, their overwhelming defeat by the German army had in fact shown them to be.

Immediately after the military victory of September 1939, Himmler, in his capacity as Reich Commissar for the Strengthening of the German People's Community, laid claim to the new 'fief' of Poland and promptly instigated measures to

¹Typical of Hitler's threats was the following:

The war will be over one day. I shall then consider that my life's final task will be to solve the religious problem. Only then will the life of the German nation be guaranteed once and for all.

I do not interfere in matters of belief. therefore I cannot allow churchmen to interfere with temporal affairs. The organised lie must be smashed. The State must remain the absolute master.

The final state must be: in the pulpit, a senile officiant; facing him, a few sinister old women, as gaga and as poor in spirit as anyone could wish. *Table Talk* (note 1/3), 13 December 1941.

HANDOUT B-2.2 (cont.)

consolidate the power of the SS within it. By the forcible suppression of all national institutions, by the 'Germanization' of cultural associations, and by the reduction of the population to the status of slave labour for the German Reich, any sort of resistance would be rendered impossible. In the western half of the territory, mass expulsion of the inhabitants took place to make room for German settlers. Simultaneously, the first systematic executions of members of the Polish intelligentsia and ruling classes were carried out, to 'eradicate the damaging influence of those elements of the population who are hostile to the life of the people and who constitute a danger for the Reich and the German *Volksgemeinschaft*'.¹³

From the first the Catholic Church was one of the main targets of this policy of annihilation. The SS was given a free hand in a reign of terror against both clergy and laity, as a demonstration that any institution or individual who might become a focal point of national resistance would be destroyed. The clergy, as always, were the chief suspects. Lists were drawn up of Catholics who were 'especially hostile to Germany' and who, as such, deserved summary treatment. In November 1939 it was reported from the Polish town of Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) that the 'eradication of Polish priests was planned, preceded only by the prior extermination of the Jews',¹⁴ allegedly as a 'reprisal' for Polish treatment of the German population. In West Prussia, out of 690 parish priests, at least two-thirds were arrested, and the remain-

der escaped only by fleeing from their parishes. After a month's imprisonment, no less than 214 of these priests were executed, including the whole cathedral chapter of Pelplin. Of the remainder, most were expelled from the western territories into the newly created 'Government-General', with the result that by the end of 1940 only twenty priests were left in their parishes – about three per cent of the number of parish priests in the pre-war period.

The much smaller Evangelical Churches in Poland were treated with equal ferocity.¹⁵ In 1939 their members totalled about 600,000, over half of whom were German-speaking. Some 20,000 were Calvinists, most of them living in the Wilna (Vilnius) area of north-east Poland, where they fell victims to the Soviet invasion. From previously prepared lists, members of the clergy were arrested immediately following the German occupation, and virtually the whole of the Evangelical clergy in the Teschen (Cieszyn) area of Silesia were consigned to the concentration camps of Mauthausen, Buchenwald, Dachau and Oranienburg, their places being taken by Germans who conducted their services in German only....

II. The Elimination of Foreign Interference

The Nazi determination to impose totalitarian control over every aspect of life in German-occupied Europe left no loophole for possible intervention by outside bodies such as the Vatican. Hitler anticipated no danger from the Protestants, who, in his view, were so rent with factional disputes, both at home and abroad, as to be negligible.

The Catholic Church, however, was more dangerous an adversary. The Vatican, the Nazis be-

lieved, never intended to observe the terms of the Concordat save as a means of preserving its age-long position of power and influence.

The Catholic Church strives always to seek advantage where we are weakest, by demanding the application to the whole Reich of those of the various Concordats which conform most closely to its aspirations.¹⁶

This would now have to be changed. In July 1942 Hitler announced that only 'military reasons connected with the war' had deterred him from severing diplomatic relations with the Vatican and from abrogating the Reich Concordat. But,

Once the war is over we will put a swift end to the Concordat. It will give me the greatest personal pleasure to point out to the Church all those occasions on which it has broken the terms of it....¹⁷

With the repudiation of the Concordat, the Catholic Church would no longer be able to depend upon the backing of Rome or of the State subsidies paid to it.

• • •

The Nazis' confidence in a German victory over the Soviet Union was probably the reason for their preparations to remove all possible opponents from the German Eastern territories. On 6 October 1941 the Gestapo ordered the systematic arrest of nearly all the few remaining Polish priests still in their parishes. No less than four hundred and eighty priests were taken to three 'transit camps' in Konstantynow, Posen and Lad, for transportation in cattle-trucks to Dachau as 'human freight,' though since large numbers of

¹³Unpublished Nuremberg Document NG-962, cited in M. Broszat, *Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik 1939-45* (Nazi Policies Concerning Poland). (Stuttgart 1961), p. 20.

¹⁴B.M. Kempner, *Priester vor Hitlers Tribunalen* (Priests Before Hitler's Tribunals). (Munich 1966), p. 10. At the risk of giving offence in certain quarters, I have quoted the place-names as found in the sources, but have tried to give the Polish names wherever possible at the first reference.

¹⁵I am indebted for this information to my colleague, Dr. William Rose.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 4 July 1942.

¹⁷*Loc. cit.*

HANDOUT B-2.2 (cont.)

them were already in retirement, their arrest could in no way be attributed to political moves against the occupying power.¹⁰² In the diocese of Katowice, if a priest 'due' for arrest could not be found, an innocent substitute was taken in his

¹⁰²R. Schnabel, *Die Frommen in der Holle* (The Pious Ones in Hell), p. 97.

place in order to maintain the quota set by SS headquarters.¹⁰³ At least ninety priests from the diocese of Kulm (Chelm) lost their lives in the concentration camps of Stutthof, Grenzdorf, Auschwitz (Oswiecim), Sachsenhausen and Dachau. In the diocese of Plock, where both the bishop and his suffragan died in captivity in

¹⁰³See Broszat, p. 161.

1941, a large number of priests were taken to the concentration camp of Soldau (Dzialdowo), where at least fifty are known to have died.¹⁰⁴ By 1942 there were no fewer than 1,773 Polish priests in Dachau where they formed by far the largest single group of prisoners.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴Quoted in Broszat, p. 162.

¹⁰⁵Schnabel, *Die Frommen in der Holle*.

HANDOUT B-3.1

NAZI ANTI-SLAVIC PROGRAM

The Nazis used the term "Untermenschen" to describe people they felt were racially inferior and people the Nazis considered as opponents of the Third Reich. The Nazis considered those non-Germans living east of the Elbe River in Europe as "Untermenschen." The reading which follows describes Heinrich Himmler's suggestions on treatment of "peoples of alien races in the East." These documents were entered as Prosecution Exhibits 1313 and 1314 at the International Military Tribunal which met in Nuremberg, Germany in 1945 and 1946.

Himmler's "Reflections on the Treatment of Peoples of Alien Races in the East"

The Reich Leader SS

Special Train, 28 May 1940

Top Secret

On Saturday, 25 May, I handed my memorandum on the treatment of peoples of alien race in the East to the Fuehrer. The Fuehrer read the six pages and considered them very good and correct. He directed, however, that only very few copies should be issued; that there should be no large edition, and that the report is to be treated with utmost secrecy. Minister Lammers was likewise present. The Fuehrer wanted me to ask Governor General Frank to come to Berlin in order to show him this report and to tell him that the Fuehrer considered it to be correct....

A secret memorandum handed to Hitler by Himmler on May 25, 1940 (Translation of Document NO-1880, Prosecution Exhibit 1314, Nuremberg Trial Documents).

For the files (stamp) Top Secret

Reflections on the Treatment of Peoples of Alien Races in the East

Concerning the treatment of peoples of alien races in the East we have to see to it that we acknowledge and cultivate as many individual ethnic groups as possible, that is, outside of the Poles and the Jews, also the Ukrainians, the White Russians, the Gorals, the Lemkes and the Kashubes. If other small and isolated national groups can be found in other places, they should be treated the same way.

What I want to say is that we are not only most interested in not unifying the population of the East, but, on the contrary, in splitting them up into as many parts and fragments as possible.

But even with the ethnic groups themselves we have no interest in leading these to unity and greatness, or perhaps arouse in them gradually a national consciousness and national culture, but we want to dissolve them into innumerable small fragments and particles....

There must be no centralization toward the top, because only by dissolving this whole conglomeration of peoples of the Government General, amounting to 15 million, and of the 8 million of the eastern provinces, will it be possible for us to carry out the racial sifting which must be the basis for our considerations: namely, selecting out of this conglomeration the racially valuable and bringing them to Germany and assimilating them there.

Within a very few years - I should think about 4 to 5 years - the name of the Kashubes, for instance, must be unknown, because at that time there won't be a Kashubian people any more (this also goes especially for the West Prussians). I hope that the concept of Jews will be completely extinguished through the possibility of a large emigration of all Jews to Africa or some other colony. Within a somewhat longer period, it should also be possible to make

the ethnic concepts of Ukrainians, Gorals and Lemkes disappear in our area. What has been said for those fragments of peoples is also meant on a correspondingly larger scale for the Poles.

A basic issue in the solution of all these problems is the question of schooling and thus the question of sifting and selecting the young. For the non-German population of the East there must be no higher school than the four-grade elementary school. The sole goal of this school is to be -

Simple arithmetic up to 500 at the most; writing of one's name; the doctrine that it is a divine law to obey the Germans and to be honest, industrious, and good. I don't think that reading is necessary.

Apart from this school there are to be no schools at all in the East. Parents, who from the beginning want to give their children better schooling in the elementary school as well as later on in a higher school, must make an application to the Higher SS and Police Leaders. The first consideration in dealing with this application will be whether the child is racially perfect and conforming to our conditions. If we acknowledge such a child to be of our blood, the parents will be notified that the child will be sent to a school in Germany and that it will permanently remain in Germany.

Cruel and tragic as every individual case may be, this method is still the mildest and best one if, out of inner conviction, one rejects as un-German and impossible the Bolshevik method of physical extermination of a people.

The parents of such children of good blood will be given the choice to either give away their child; they will then probably produce no more children so that the danger of this subhuman people of the East (*Untermenschen* *des Ostens*) obtaining a class of leaders which, since it would be equal to us, would also be dangerous for us, will disappear - or else the parents pledge themselves to go to Germany and to become loyal citizens there. The love toward their child,

HANDOUT B-3.1 (cont.)

whose future and education depends on the loyalty of the parents, will be a strong weapon in dealing with them.

Apart from examining the applications made by parents for better schooling of their children, there will be an annual sifting of all children of the General Government between the ages of six and ten in order to separate the racially valuable and non-valuable ones. The ones considered racially valuable will be treated in the same way as the children who are admitted on the basis of the approved application of their parents.

I consider it as a matter of course from an emotional as well as from a rational viewpoint that, the moment children and parents come to Germany, they are not treated like lepers in the schools and in everyday life, but, after having changed their names, they should, in full confidence, be incorporated into the German life, although attention and vigilance must be exercised with regard to them. It must not happen that the children be made to feel as outcasts, because, after all we believe in this, our own blood, which, through the errors of German history has flown into an alien nationality and we are convinced that our Weltanschauung and our ideals will strike a

chord of resonance in the racially equal soul of these children. Here teachers and HJ-leaders especially must do an out-and-out job and the mistake that has been made in the past with the people from Elsass Lorraine must never be repeated; namely that, on one side, one wants to win the people as Germans and, on the other side, one constantly hurts and repudiates their human value, their pride and honor through distrust and insults. Insults like "Polack" and "Ukrainian" or something like that must be made impossible.

The children will have to be educated in an elementary school and after these four grades it can be decided whether the children should continue to go to the German grammar school or should be transferred to a national political institution of education.

The population of the General Gouvernement during the next ten years, by necessity and after a consistent carrying out of these measures, will be composed of the remaining inferior population supplemented by the population of the Eastern provinces deported there, and at all those parts of the German Reich which have the same racial and human qualities f.i. parts of the Serbs (Serben) and Wends (Wenden).

This population will, as a people of laborers without leaders, be at our disposal and will furnish Germany annually with mi-

grant workers and with workers for special tasks (roads, quarries, buildings): they themselves will have more to eat and more to live on than under the Polish regime, and, though they have no culture of their own, they will, under the strict, consistent and just leadership of the German people, be called upon to help work on its everlasting cultural tasks and its buildings and perhaps, as far as the amount of heavy work is concerned, will be the ones who make the realization of these tasks possible.

CERTIFICATE OF TRANSLATION

14 July 1947

I, Hanna Marie BIEBER, 3 397 989, hereby certify that I am thoroughly conversant with the English and German languages and that the above is a true and correct translation of the original document NO. NO-1880.

Hanna Marie BIEBER

HANDOUT B-3.2

NAZI ANTI-SLAVIC THOUGHT

Heinrich Himmler

...We who constitute the old "Reich" – by this I mean little Germany – have been a nation for only 70 years. We have not yet had the opportunity to rule great political minorities or even majorities with a German minority, as was the case when the old-Austrian province of Ostmark, with a minority of 12 million Germans, ruled over 40 to 50 million members of foreign people in the Balkans. Nor have we had the experience of ruling millions or hundreds of millions of people with a minority as England does and has learned to do in 300 years.

We have to take things as they are. We will learn to do that too, and if we could awaken in a hundred years from now, we would see that our grandchildren and great-grandchildren could do it even better. I would like to teach the SS all these things. I believe that thanks to our self-confident racial posture we are less likely to make mistakes. But we have yet a lot to learn. To state it modestly, I believe that we are doing it relatively least poorly and with the fewest mistakes.

Psychology of the Slav

Now back to the Slav! I consider it necessary that we explore this topic thoroughly. Whether it was Peter the Great or the last Czars, whether it is Mr. Lenin or Mr. Stalin – they all know very well that the concepts "faithfulness," "not to betray someone," "not to engage in conspiracies" are not part of the vocabulary shared by the Russians. Whatever you may let someone tell you about a

Russian, it is all true. It is true that some of these Russians are devoutly religious and devoutly believe in the mother of God of Khasan or wherever else, absolutely true. It is true that the Volga boatmen sing beautifully. It is true that today in modern times the Russian is a good improviser and a good technician. It is true that for the most part he even loves children. It is true that he can work very diligently. It is equally true that he is a lazy bum. It is equally true that he is an uncontrolled beast which can torture and molest other people in ways unknown even to the devil. It is equally true that the Russian, high or low, resorts to the most perverse things – up to devouring his comrade and up to storing his neighbor's liver in his knapsack. All of this is part of these Slavic people's scale of feelings and values. It is often a pure matter of luck which of these traits one happens to encounter. For anyone who does not know this beast exactly it is a great puzzle to anticipate what he happens to be up to at any particular moment.

The Russians happen to know themselves rather well and have invented a practical system, whether it was the czars with their Ochrana or Messrs. Lenin and Stalin with their GPU or NKVD. When four Russians are together with dad, mom, and the kids, none of the four or five knows, who is about to betray whom, who happens to be the stool pigeon snitching on the father – is it the mother or is it the daughter? And who, in turn, is tattling on them. When in doubt, there are two, possibly three informers in this family. I am not exaggerating. This observation applies unconditionally to the city. As for the rural areas, our comrades who are serving on the eastern front will be able to tell you that there are in each village still 20 to 30 NKVD – informers and agents – even long after the Bolsheviks have left. Thus, an absolute safeguard has been established against the formation of any conspiracy

because this spy system is designed to constantly report to the top. Then comes the pistol or deportation, and this is the way to rule these people.

No Place for Compassion

It is totally wrong to infuse into foreign people our harmless nature full of compassion, our gentleness, our idealism. This applies beginning with Herder who seems to have written his "Voices of Nations" while he was drunk and thus brought us, his descendants, immeasurable grief and suffering. This applies beginning with the Czechs and Slovenes to whom we brought their feeling of nationalism. They themselves were incapable of having it, and so we had to invent it for them.

One basic rule must apply to each member of the SS, and that is to be honest, decent, faithful, and congenial toward members of our own blood but to no one else. The welfare of the Russians, the welfare of the Czechs, is of absolutely no concern to me. We will obtain from other people whatever is present in good blood of our kind, if necessary, by kidnapping their children and raising them ourselves. Whether other people live prosperously or whether they die of hunger is of interest to me only to the extent to which we need them as slaves for our culture, that's all. Whether or not 10,000 Russian broads collapse of exhaustion while digging an anti-tank trench is of interest to me only to the extent that the trench is completed for Germany. It is clear that we will never be harsh and heartless unless we have to be. We Germans, the only ones in the world who have a decent disposition toward animals, will certainly assume a decent disposition toward these human animals, but it is a crime against our own blood to worry about them and to provide them with ideals with the result that our sons and grandchildren have a more difficult time with

Taken from: Document 1919 PS International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, Germany. Speech by Himmler on the occasion of the SS group leader meeting in Posen, 4 October 1943. Translated from the German edition by Paul E. Dammer.

HANDOUT B-3.2 (cont.)

them. If someone comes to me and says, "I can't build the anti-tank trench with children or women. That's inhuman, because they will die doing it," I must say, "You are a murderer of your own blood because, if the trench is not built, German soldiers will die, and they are sons of German mothers. That's our blood." That is the idea I want to inject into this SS and, I believe, have in-

jected as one of the most sacred laws of the future – that is, our concern, our duty, is our nation and our blood. For this we have to care and think, to work and fight, and for nothing else. Everything else is of no consequence to us. It is my wish that the SS confronts the problems of all other non-Germanic people, especially the Russians, with this philosophy. Everything else is hot air, is a deception of our own people, and is an obstruction to an earlier victory of the war.

(Translator's note: In the excerpt translated above, Himmler frequently resorted to language of a low social register. The translation represents an accurate reflection of that register in American English. Examples: "lazy bum," "while he was drunk," "Russian broads." Paul E. Dammer, translator.)



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

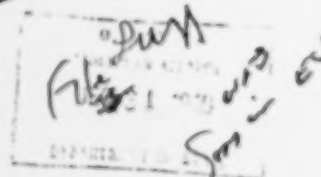
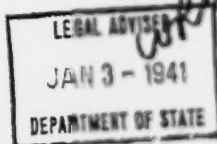
Berlin, November 26, 1940.

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HANDOUT B-3.2 (cont.)

No. 3304

Subject: Definition of a Racial Pole for use in
Former Polish Territory Annexed to Germany.



RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JAN 26 AM 10 52

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS

Honorable

The Secretary of State

Washington

Sir:

In referring to the Department's instruction
No. 484 of January 2, 1940 with respect to reports on
developments relating to German-occupied Poland, I have
the honor to forward herewith a copy in translation of
an announcement in the German Press to the effect that
the Reich Minister of the Interior had issued an order
defining a racial Pole in connection with administra-
tive questions in former Polish regions annexed to the
German Reich.

It will be noted from this announcement that where
laws or administrative regulations contain special pro-
visions for Poles these provisions shall apply only to
members of the Polish race. The Polish race is further
defined as not including Great Russians, Lithuanians,

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white Russians or white Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Czechs. Similarly the so-called "mixed population" of Silesia and the former Corridor are not to be regarded as racial Poles since "although predominantly of Polish descent, they incline to Germanism as a result of mixed marriages and cultural influences".

The significance of this decree is as follows: In the former Polish regions annexed to the Reich many economic and social disabilities have been placed on members of the Polish race. These disabilities include among other things the right to control real estate, to practice certain trades and professions, to make use of school and other public facilities, to specified quantities of food at set prices, as well as the obligation to pay higher taxes, to perform compulsory labor, and the liability to expulsion from their homes to the so-called General Government. There has been a continually increasing severity in the application of these disabilities, etc. against members of the Polish race and at the same time persistent efforts by groups to gain exemption from them.

The exemption of Russian, Lithuanian and other minority groups is easily understandable. That exemption is to be liberally interpreted and applied to many persons of dominant Polish extraction but who are able to prove some strain of other blood. The number of persons affected by this principle will perhaps run to several hundred thousand and they will be permitted to continue to reside in the annexed regions without any of the disabilities applied to the racial Poles. The exemption of

the

the native Polish population of Silesia and the Corridor regions is of far greater significance since it applies to several million persons thought by the Germans to be eligible for germanization and who will eventually become Volksdeutsch. These persons, who satisfactorily establish with the occupying authorities their subservience to the German regime will be permitted to remain in the annexed areas and to hold property and carry on the normal processes of life as ordinary citizens rather than, as heretofore, being faced by the disabilities inflicted on racial Poles and Jews.

The main reason for this important action appears to be the necessity of retaining in the annexed regions these millions for whom places could not be found in the General Government. At the same time their labor is necessary to the agriculture of the Corridor and the industry and mining of Silesia. Without them the annexed regions could not operate and it is impossible for Germany to find sufficient emigrants to replace them for years to come. To continue to inflict disabilities on them would result only in more difficulty for the administration with the local population than at present exists. The racial Poles of the property owning, professional and middle class, and particularly those who were concerned with former Polish governmental activities in the annexed regions have already been expelled. Those now to be retained are peasants and workmen whose labor is so necessary to Germany.

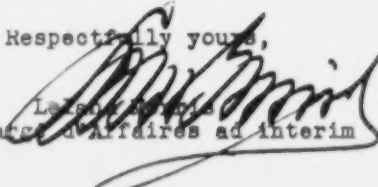
It is understood that many Poles have refused to accept germanization and preferred expulsion to racial

denial.

denial. However, by far the greater part of the local population appears to have every intention of remaining in the annexed regions. This in itself is not entirely a disservice to the idea of Polish nationality since Polish blood will continue for generations to be dominant in most regions obtained by Germany out of the fourth partition of Poland. The Germans themselves recognize this in stating that the volksdeutsch is 80 percent Pole, 10 percent Jewish and 10 percent German. It is also acknowledged that the younger generations of the volksdeutsch in Poland are frequently far more patriotic and difficult to handle than many racial Poles.

The racial question in occupied Poland will continue to be one of the most serious problems confronting the occupying authorities and the Embassy hopes to be in a position in the near future to submit a detailed report on it.

Respectfully yours,


Leon Kozłowski
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

✓
Enclosure:

From Berliner Börsen Zeitung
No. 554, November 22, 1940.

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LMH/hew

HANDOUT B-4.1

NAZI EDUCATION

The following excerpts on Nazi education are taken from George L. Mosse, *Nazi Culture: Intellectual Cultural and Social Life in the Third Reich*. For a more complete description of "Nazi Thought," consult Mosse's *Nazi Culture* as well as Erika Mann's *School for Barbarians* and Gregor Ziemer's *Education for Death*.

A SCHOOLBOOK SAMPLER

The Führer of Elementary-School Children

Adapted from

Baldur Von Schirach

Far from our homeland, our Führer Adolf Hitler has a beautiful villa. It is located high up in the mountains and is surrounded by an iron fence. Often many people who would like to see and greet the Führer stand in front of it.

One day the Führer came out once again and greeted the people in a very friendly way. They were all full of joy and jubilation and reached out with their hands to him.

In the very first rank stood a little girl with flowers in her hands, and she said in her clear child's voice: "Today is my birthday."

Thereupon the Führer took the little blond girl by the hand and walked slowly with her through the fence and into the villa. Here the little girl was treated to cake and strawberries with thick, sweet cream.

From *Fibel Für die Grundschule, im Bezirk Düsseldorf*, edited by Wilhelm Brinkman and Paul Rossing (Gutersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1935), pp. 67-68.

Taken from: George L. Mosse, *Nazi Culture* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1966), pp. 287-288. Reprinted by permission of Schocken Books Inc. from *Nazi Culture* by George L. Mosse. Copyright (c) 1966 by George L. Mosse.

And the little one ate and ate until she could eat no more. Then she said very politely: "I thank you very much!" and "Good-by." Then she made herself as tall as she could, put her little arms around the Führer's neck, and now the little girl gave the great Führer a long, long kiss.

THE LIVELY YOUNGSTER

"What good is a boy," said the Inspector of National Political Educational Institutions, SS Senior Group Leader Heissmeyer, "who is endowed with great intellectual gifts but who for the rest is a weak, hopelessly irresolute, and slack fellow? We have in mind the ideal of the lively youngster who comes from good parents with hereditary virtues, who is physically sound, full of courage, and brings with him spiritual exuberance and alertness."

THE IDEAL OF WOMANHOOD

The Tasks of Women

Adolf Hitler

...So long as we possess a healthy manly race and we National Socialists will attend to that we will form no female mortar battalions and no female sharpshooter corps. For that is not equality of rights, but a diminution of the rights of women....

An unlimited range of work opportunities exists for women. For us the woman has always been man's most loyal comrade in work and in life. I am often told: You want to drive women out of the professions. Not at all. I wish only to create the broadest measure of possibility for her to co-found her own family and to be able to have chil-

From the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, Dec. 30, 1941. (Wiener Library Clipping Collection.)

Taken from: George L. Mosse, *Nazi Culture* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1966), p. 280. Reprinted by permission of Schocken Books Inc. from *Nazi Culture* by George L. Mosse. Copyright (c) 1966 by George L. Mosse.

dren, because by so doing she most benefits our Volk!...

If today a female jurist accomplishes ever so much and next door there lives a mother with five, six, seven children, who are all healthy and well-brought-up, then I would like to say: From the standpoint of the eternal value of our people the woman who has given birth to children and raised them and who thereby has given back our people life for the future has accomplished **more** and does **more**!

THE BLOND CRAZE

Brunswick, May 31 – SS Chief Group Leader Jeckeln attacked the "blond craze" at a meeting of the NSDAP. Blond hair and blue eyes by themselves, he said, were not convincing proof that one belongs to the Nordic race. A girl who wants to marry an SS man today must be above reproach in every respect. Therefore she is required to possess the Reich sports medal. Many people, perhaps even today, could not understand the reason for this requirement. Germany does not need women who can dance beautifully at five o'clock teas, but women who have given proof of their health through accomplishments in the field of sport. "The javelin and the springboard are more useful than lipstick in promoting health."

From a speech to the National Socialist women's organization (Die Frauenschaft), published in the *Volksischer Beobachter*, Sept. 13, 1936. (Wiener Library Clipping Collection.)

Taken from: George Mosse, *Nazi Culture* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1966), p. 39. Reprinted by permission of Schocken Books Inc. from *Nazi Culture* by George L. Mosse. Copyright (c) 1966 by George L. Mosse.

From the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, June 1, 1937. (Wiener Library Clipping Collection.)

Taken from: George L. Mosse, *Nazi Culture* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1966), p. 43. Reprinted by permission of Schocken Books Inc. from *Nazi Culture* by George L. Mosse. Copyright (c) 1966 by George L. Mosse.

HANDOUT B-4.1 (cont.)

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

1. Physical education is a fundamental and inseparable part of National Socialist education.
2. The aim and the content of education follow from the National Socialist world view, which sees the conserving and driving forces of the nation in the Volk community, readiness to bear arms, race-consciousness, and leadership.
National Socialist education is oriented toward the people and the state. It grasps man in his totality in order to make him able and ready to serve the community of the people through the development of all his powers – of the body, the soul, and the mind.
3. In the training of youth in the schools, physical education, within the framework of education as a whole, is of the greatest importance.
Physical education has not been placed on the curriculum merely for the purpose of training the body. Rather, it is a training on the basis of the body, or through the body, that is to say, it reaches out to young people where they are most easily educable: in gymnastics, in play, in sport, in movement.
4. Volk, defense, race, and leadership also serve as guidelines for the structuring of physical education, which accordingly has a four-fold goal:

- a) Physical education is education in community. By demanding obedience, coordination, chivalrous conduct, a comradely and manly spirit from the lads in the classroom, in the section, and in the squad without regard to person, it trains them in those virtues which constitute the foundations of the Volk community.
 - b) Physical education leads the growing man, through the systematic development of his innate instincts for movement, games, and competitive struggle, to the practice of physical accomplishment and to militant engagement of self. Thus it creates the physical and psychic foundations for the ability to defend oneself and for a healthy utilization of leisure time in adulthood.
 - c) Physical education develops and forms body and soul, as the carriers of the racial heritage, through physical exercises rooted in Volkdom. Through habituation to sports it creates healthy views concerning physical beauty and efficiency. It awakens and demands in the individual and in the community the consciousness of the worth of one's own race and thereby places itself in the service of racial eugenics.
 - d) Physical education demands from the youngster courage and self-discipline as well as independent and responsible conduct in the community of sport. Thus it creates the possibility of recognizing and fostering talent for leadership in the process of selection. Physical education is education in will and character.
5. Militant accomplishment stands in the center of physical education – not as the end purpose of education but as a means.
It must keep pace with the physical and spiritual development of the young people and their capacity for accomplishment, starting out first from the unconscious and then leading to competition through consciously trained movement.
Good form is the result and the external expression of good accomplishment. The set forms of the drill-like exercises for the purposes of examination and inspection are not compatible with the aims of physical education in the school. Likewise during performances within or outside the school the number of demonstrations should be kept to the necessary minimum.

From *Richtlinien für die Leibeserziehung in Jungenschulen* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 7-8.

Taken from: George L. Mosse. *Nazi Culture* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1966), p. 43. Reprinted by permission of Schocken Books Inc. from *Nazi Culture* by George L. Mosse. Copyright (c) 1966 by George L. Mosse.

THE HITLER YOUTH

The picture which appears on the following page was taken from a children's anti-Semitic reader entitled, "Don't Trust the Fox in the Green Meadow Nor the Jew on His Oath." The following caption accompanied the picture.

HANDOUT B-4.1 (cont.)



"Young people who call themselves real Germans join the Hitler Youth. They dedicate their lives to the Fuehrer (Hitler) and strive for the future. When they are older, they will assume the German heritage.

"The great hallowed fatherland which will continue to be because it has always been. In this picture you can see the Hitler Youth, proud and handsome. They are all tall and proud fellows, from the biggest to the smallest man.

"They love the German Fuehrer. They fear God in heaven. They despise the Jews - They (Jews) are not like them. That's why they must go."

HANDOUT B-4.2

NAZI EDUCATION

The following trial transcript was taken from the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany on January 10, 1946. The defendant, Julius Streicher, was the publisher and author of a number of Nazi anti-Jewish books and a newspaper entitled, *Der Sturmer*. Streicher was also the Gauleiter or Nazi Party regional chief in the province of Franconia. This transcript begins with an introduction by Lt. Col. Griffith-Jones, an attorney for the prosecution.

LT. COL. GRIFFITH-JONES: *Der Sturmer* also published some children's books, although I make it quite clear that I am not alleging that the defendant himself wrote the books. But they were published from his publishing business; and they are, of course, on the same line as everything else that was published and issued from that business.

The first of them to which I would call attention was entitled in English – or the English translation is – as follows: Don't Trust the Fox in the Green Meadow Nor the Jew on His Oath. It is a picture book for children. There are pictures, all of them offensive pictures depicting Jews, of which a variety of selections appears in the Tribunal's book. And opposite each picture there is a little story.

The writing opposite the first picture, which depicts a very unpleasant looking Jewish butcher cutting up meat, is as follows:

Trial transcript taken from: International Military Tribunal: Nuremberg. Official Text. English edition. Volume V, 10 January 1946, pp. 113-116.

"The Jewish butcher: He sells half-refuse instead of meat. A piece of meat lies on the floor, the cat claws another. This doesn't worry the Jewish butcher since the meat increases in weight. Besides, one mustn't forget, he won't have to eat it himself."

Again in the interest of time, it is not worth quoting the contents of that book any further. The Tribunal can see the type of book it is, the type of teaching it was instilling into the minds of the children. The pictures speak for themselves.

The second picture is a rather beastly picture of a girl being led away by a Jew. On the next page we see the defendant smiling benignly at a children's party, greeting the little children. The next picture depicts copies of *Der Sturmer* posted on a wall with children looking at them.

The next picture perhaps requires a little explanation. It is a picture of Jewish children being taken away from an Aryan school, led away by an unpleasant looking father; and all the Aryan children shouting and dancing and enjoying the fun very much.

That book, Document M-32, becomes Exhibit GB-181.

THE PRESIDENT: You won't be able, will you, to finish in a short time? Perhaps we'd better adjourn now.

LT. COL. GRIFFITH-JONES: I have about another 20 minutes.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, yes; we will adjourn now.

(A recess was taken.)

LT. COL. GRIFFITH-JONES: My Lord, I had finished describing that one children's book. There is a similar book called *The Poisonous Fungus*, which has, in fact, been put in evidence already as Exhibit USA-257, but it was not read to the Tribunal; and I would like to read one of the short stories from that book because it shows,

perhaps more strikingly, I think, than any other extract to which we have referred, the revolting way in which this man poisoned the minds of his listeners and readers.

It is a book of pictures again with short stories, and Page 69 of the document book shows one of the pictures, a girl sitting in a Jewish doctor's waiting room.

My Lord, it is not a very pleasant story, but he is not a very pleasant man; and it is only by reading these things that it becomes possible to believe the kind of education that the German children have been receiving during these years, led by this man.

I quote from the story:

"Inge" – that is the girl – "Inge sits in the reception room of the Jew doctor. She has to wait a long time. She looks through the journals which are on the table. But she is much too nervous to read even a few sentences. Again and again she remembers the talk with her mother. And again and again her mind reflects on the warnings of her leader of the League of German Girls. A German must not consult a Jew doctor. And particularly not a German girl. Many a girl that went to a Jew doctor to be cured met with disease and disgrace.

"When Inge had entered the waiting room, she experienced an extraordinary incident. From the doctor's consulting room she could hear the sound of crying. She heard the voice of a young girl, 'Doctor, doctor, leave me alone.'

"Then she heard the scornful laughter of a man. And then, all of a sudden it became absolutely silent. Inge had listened breathlessly.

"What can be the meaning of all this?" she asked herself, and her heart was pounding. And again she thought of the warning of her leader in the League of German Girls.

"Inge had already been waiting for an hour. Again she takes the journals in an endeavor to read. Then the door opens. Inge looks up. The Jew appears. She screams. In terror she drops the paper. Horrified she jumps up. Her eyes stare into the face of the Jewish doctor. And this face is the face of the Devil. In the middle of

HANDOUT B-4.2 (cont.)

this devil's face is a huge crooked nose. Behind the spectacles gleam two criminal eyes. Around the thick lips plays a grin, a grin that means, 'Now I have you at last, you little German girl!'

"And then the Jew approaches her. His fat fingers snatch at her. But now Inge has got hold of herself. Before the Jew can grab hold of her, she

smacks the fat face of the Jew doctor with her hand. One jump to the door. Breathlessly Inge runs down the stairs. Breathlessly she escapes from the Jew house."

Comment is almost unnecessary on a story like that, read by children of the age of those who are going to read the books you have seen.

Another picture which I have included in the

book is a picture, of course of the defendant, and the script opposite that picture, which appears on Page 70 of the document book, includes the words — and I quote from the last but one paragraph: "Without a solution of the Jewish question there will be no salvation for mankind."

TOTALITARIAN CONTROL of PROPAGANDA and EDUCATION

021-USA

PARTY CONTROLS

EXAMINING COMMISSION (BOUHLER)	PRESS LEADER (AMANN)	PRESS CHIEF (DIETRICH)	PROPAGANDA LEADER (GOEBBELS)	IDEOLOGY (ROSENBERG)	YOUTH EDUCATION (VON SCHIRACH)	UNIVERSITY STUDENTS & TEACHERS (SCHEEL)
ISSUED PARTY IMPRIMATUR ON BOOKS, MAGAZINES ETC.	SUPERVISED ALL PUBLISHERS, HEADED PARTY NEWSPAPERS, BOOK PUBLISHERS	(A) PRESS POLITICAL OFFICE (B) PRESS PERSONNEL OFFICE SUPERVISED PARTY PRESS, TREATMENT OF PARTY AFFAIRS	(A) PRESS (B) EXHIBITS & FAIRS (C) SPEAKERS' BUREAU (D) FILMS (E) RADIO (F) CULTURE (G) OTHERS	TRAINING MATERIALS, CURRICULA, INDOCTRINATION, ETC.	HITLER JUGEND (AXMANN) BDM, JUNGVOELK	

STATE CONTROLS

PROPAGANDA MINISTRY (GOEBBELS)								MINISTRY for EDUCATION (RUST)
(A) PROPAGANDA COORDINATION	(B) FOREIGN (COOP. WITH AO)	(C) RADIO (FRITZSCHE)	(D) FILM	(E) LITERATURE (COOP. WITH ROSENBERG & BOUHLER)	(F) GERMAN PRESS INCL. DNB (DIETRICH)	(G) PERIODICALS (DIETRICH)	(H) THEATER, ARTS ETC. (DIETRICH)	

CORPORATE CONTROLS

REICHSKULTURKAMMER PRES. GOEBBELS, V.P. (1937): FUNK, AMANN, GUTTERER								UNIVERSITY TEACHERS (SCHEEL)	STUDENT SOCIETY (SCHEEL)	FORMER CORPS MEMBERS (SCHEEL)
REGIONAL PARTY OFFICERS HAVING STATE FUNCTIONS.	(A) PRESS (AMANN)	(B) FINE ARTS	(C) MUSIC	(D) THEATER	(E) FILM	(F) LITERATURE	(G) RADIO			

Maj. Wallis

Taken from: *International Military Tribunal; Nuremberg, Germany, 1948.*

Document 021-USA.

C. Nazi Rise to Power

Statement of Purpose:

Students should understand that Nazi Germany was the result of many historical forces converging in post-World War I Germany. It is important that students realize that the Reich and the human tragedy associated with it was not a quirk of history but rather a product of history.

Objectives:

- Students will explain why post-World War I Germany provided fertile ground for the Nazi movement;
- Students will list some of the details about important Nazi German leaders;
- Students will outline the main provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- To begin this section on the "Nazi Rise to Power," provide students with an overview of the period in German history from the end of World War I to the passage of the Empowering Act by the German Reichstag on March 23, 1933. William L. Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960) and William S. Allen's *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1930-1935* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1966) provide highly readable and interesting accounts of this time period in German history. Handout material included in C-1 will provide supplemental information regarding the post-World War I period and the rise of the Nazis. Using Handout C-1.1, Versailles Treaty, ask students to outline the main points included in this Treaty which concluded Germany's partic-

ipation in World War I. The brief summary of the Treaty provisions (Handout C-1.1) provides additional background material for this section. The outline maps (Handout C-1.2) of Central and Eastern Europe 1914, 1919-1929 can be used by students to locate the boundaries of various European countries following World War I and to identify the geographic provisions of the Versailles Treaty. For example, students might locate the Polish Corridor, Saar Basin, city of Danzig, and the Rhineland. As you discuss the Versailles Treaty and Handouts C-2, the Nazi Party programs, be sure that students understand the role the Treaty played in forming Nazi goals. Students should also conclude that the Treaty had little to do with Hitler's and the Nazis' anti-Jewish and anti-Slavic actions.

- As a concluding activity concerning the Versailles Treaty, have students take part in the following role play exercise.

Setting:

A German soldier who fought in World War I is happy to have survived with only a minor injury. In addition, he is relieved that the bitter war years are over. However, after he reads the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, he becomes angry because he considers it to be unfair to Germany. One evening in 1919 he is asked to participate in an interview which will be broadcast by radio on his reaction to the treaty.

Task:

Role play an interview between the reporter and the German veteran. Prepare appropriate questions and answers from the viewpoint of the reporter and the German veteran. Be sure to include specific examples of injustices contained in the Treaty of Versailles.

- Germany after World War I. The handouts included in C-2 describe the social, political, and economic conditions which existed in post-World War I Germany. In order for students to understand how the Nazis came to power, students need to understand how and why the Nazi Party platform and program appealed to the German people.

Handout C-2.1 contains excerpts from *The Black Obelisk*, a novel by Erich Maria Remarque, which describes Germany during the post-World War I period. While presented as fiction, Remarque provides the reader with a feeling for what life was like for the German nation, and Europe, during the Depression and post-War era. As students read these excerpts, have them explain how the problems associated with inflation influenced German life. Ask students to describe how Remarque portrays the veterans of World War I and how inflation affected their lives. Have students make the connection between the economic and social problems described in this handout with the Nazi Party program listed in Handout C-2.2.

Handout C-2.2 includes a brief description of Hitler's rise to power taken from William L. Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, the program of the Nazi Party, and two items related to membership in the Nazi Party ("Three Party Platforms" and "Seven Case Studies"). As students read Handout C-2.2, "The Road to Power (1925-1931)" and "The Program of the NSDAP," have them consider the following questions:

- How did Hitler organize the Nazi Party in Germany?
- What were the names of the Nazi youth organizations?
- What was the S.S.? Why was it formed?
- How were the words in the title of the Nazi

Party (National, Socialist, German, Workers') reflected in the Party program?

– Which groups in German society supported the Nazi Party Program? Why?

- Distribute copies of Handout C-2.3, "Three Party Platforms" and "Seven Case Studies," to each student. Divide the class into seven groups and assign each group one of the case studies. Have each group read the three party platforms and determine which of the political parties the person in its case study would choose. Ask students to offer reasons to support their choices. Have students select names for the three political parties described in Handout C-2.3.

- Handouts C-2.4 list information about the German economy and the rise of the Nazi Party during the period from 1928 to 1933. As students analyze and interpret these graphs and charts, have them speculate on the economic factors which helped to account for the acceptance of the Nazi programs. Have students identify the kinds of people who joined the Nazi Party.

The last document in Handout C-2.4 is a copy of a telegram (March 24, 1933) sent by Frederic Sackett, U.S. Ambassador to Germany, to Secretary of State Cordell Hull. This telegram describes the passage of the Empowering Act which granted Hitler and his cabinet all of the powers of government. This document should serve as a starting point for a student investigation into the events which followed the passage of the Empowering Act. As students study this document, ask them to explain how the Act increased Hitler's power. How did it change the relationship between the Cabinet, the Reichstag, and the Reichsrath? For further inquiry, students might complete the following assignments:

– Develop a list of possible reactions to the German situation that the U.S. Secretary of State might have recommended to the President. As a writing assignment, direct students to draft a reply to Sackett's telegram outlining the U.S. position.

– President von Hindenburg had the position and authority to resist Adolf Hitler's power plays and yet he did not. Direct students to investigate von Hindenburg – his background, selection as president of the Weimar Republic, and relationship to Adolf Hitler. In a short writing assignment, ask students to describe von Hindenburg's role in Hitler's rise to power.

(The telegram concerning the Empowering Act and the teaching strategies which accompany it are taken from: Mary Alexander, editor, "Document of the Month." *Social Education*, October 1983, pp. 435-438.)

- Have students study the art of German artist George Grosz, included in Handout C-2.5. George Grosz portrayed the economic, social, and political conditions which existed in Germany during the period of the Weimar Republic. After students view the Grosz art, have them discuss the following questions:
 - According to Grosz, what was the plight of many German World War I veterans?
 - What groups, according to Grosz, dominated German society of the 1920s?
 - How did Grosz portray the Nazis?
 - Where did Grosz feel the Nazis would lead Germany?
 - Given conditions in the Weimar Republic, why might Germans turn to extreme political parties?
- Handout C-3 contains brief biographies of the main Nazi Party leaders. These biographies present brief accounts of the lives of Hitler,

Himmler, Heydrich, Goebbels, Goring, and Eichmann. For more complete information about these Nazi leaders and others, have students consult: Joachim C. Fest. *The Face of the Third Reich: Portraits of the Nazi Leadership* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970).

As students read the biographies in Handout C-3, have them summarize the common elements in the lives and philosophies of these Nazis. Using the biographies as introductions, students might complete more in-depth research focusing on the leadership and organization of the Nazi Party.

- William Sheridan Allen's description of the rise of the Nazi Party forms the basis for Handout C-4. As students read Allen's account of life in "Thalburg," have them identify those factors which contributed to the rise of the Nazis. Have students discuss how the Nazis used "pageantry" and nationalistic symbols to attract supporters. Have students compare the information in this Handout with the materials in Handout C-2.3 ("Three Party Platforms" and "Seven Case Studies"). Ask students to explain how and why the Nazi Party appealed to various segments in German society.
- Handout C-5 focuses on the Nazi educational system established after the Party took power. This Handout may be used to reinforce the materials on Nazi education in Handouts B-4. Ziemer's testimony before the Nuremberg Tribunal includes text from his book, *Education for Death: The Making of the Nazi*. As students read Ziemer's testimony, ask them to list the goals for each component of the Nazi educational system (e.g., the NSV homes for unmarried mothers; the Pimpf; the Jungmaedel; the Jungvolk; the BDM; and the Hitler Youth). Ask students how these youth groups taught and reinforced the value of conformity and blind obedience to authority. Have students also

note how these organizations taught prejudicial attitudes toward "non-Aryan" peoples. Refer back to those concepts taught in Unit I.

As students discuss the material in Handout C-5, they should also explain how the Nazi educational system contributed to the Party's growth and strength. Students should note how the Nazis manipulated the educational system in Germany to achieve the Party's goals and to retain control.

- To supplement the materials included in this guide, the Center for Learning Technologies at the New York State Education Department has obtained the videotape reproduction rights to the series, *Witness to the Holocaust*. This series, produced by the National Jewish Resource Center, includes the following 20-minute videotapes:

"The Rise of the Nazis"
"Ghetto Life"
"Deportations"
"Resistance"
"The Final Solution"
"Liberation"
"Reflections"

To obtain copies of this series, contact the Center for Learning Technologies, Cultural Education Center, New York State Education Department, Albany, New York 12230.

To conclude this Unit, you might show the videotape, *Witness to the Holocaust: Rise of the Nazis* (20 minutes). Introduce the tape by outlining the following background information:

In nations in which many political parties are free to exist, extremist parties periodically arise. Virtually by definition, the views of extremist parties differ from those of most people in the society. Often such parties advocate dictatorial political systems, considered necessary if a minority is to radically transform society and reshape its perceptions of reality.

The study of how the Nazis rose to power in Germany provides students with an opportunity to understand how an extremist group, preaching militarism and racial hatred came to power and became accepted as the legitimate government in a twentieth century democratic republic. Students should understand that in order for a democracy to exist, its people

must support it as the best possible political system, and be willing to defend it.

Before showing the video cassette, ask students to list several explanations, given by the witnesses speaking on the program, for the successful rise of the Nazis to power in post-World War I Germany.

After the viewing, students should then be asked the following questions:

- What do we mean when we call a political party an extremist party?
- Why was the Nazi Party in Germany, under the Weimar Republic, correctly described as an extremist party?
- How do the witnesses explain the rise of the Nazis to power?
- Why did many Germans believe Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda?
- Can we better understand when an extremist party can come to power in a democratic society after watching this tape? If so, can we prevent it?

HANDOUT C-1.1

VERSAILLES TREATY

Editors of Xerox Education Publications

THE VICTORIOUS ALLIES – Britain, France, Italy, and the United States – met in Versailles, a suburb of Paris, and drafted a peace treaty. Germany, the loser, was not allowed to participate in the deliberations. According to the Versailles Treaty:

1. The French took rich prizes of German territory west of the Rhine River, the Saar area with its coal fields and the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which contained a great deposit of iron ore. France also gained the right to maintain troops in the part of the Rhine area that Germany was allowed to keep.

2. German-occupied territory to the east and south, including the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, was divided into new countries on the basis of voting by the inhabitants or by simple declaration of the Allies.

3. To disarm Germany, the Prussian army was limited to 100,000 men, and there could be no draft. In other words, there was to be a small, but professional, group of soldiers. Germany was not allowed to have heavy artillery, aircraft, or submarines. The Allies intended to divide the German fleet among themselves. (Just as this was about to happen in June 1919, however, German sailors opened the sea cock on each ship; almost all the \$350-million fleet went to the bottom.)

4. Germany was required to pay a large but unspecified sum of money to the Allies (mainly France) for the cost of the war.

5. Germany had to admit that she was totally to blame for all the losses and damages of the war.

Terms of the Versailles Treaty were so strongly opposed by all parties that at first no one would sign, and the Weimar cabinet resigned. By July, however, a new cabinet was chosen that did sign the treaty. The next day German newspapers appeared with their front pages edged in black and one commented:

"Today German honor is being carried to its grave. Do not forget it! The German people will reconquer its place among the nations, and then will come the vengeance for the shame of 1919!"

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

Edwin Fenton and John M. Good

After nearly six months of negotiations, the Treaty of Versailles was signed in the grand palace built by Louis XIV. The treaty included more than seven hundred articles.

Article 42. Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometers to the east.

Article 45. As compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France and as part payment towards the total reparation due, Germany cedes (gives up) to France the coal mines in the Saar Basin.

Article 49. Germany renounces the government of the Saar in favor of the League of Nations as trustee.

At the end of fifteen years the inhabitants of said territory shall indicate the sovereignty under which they desire to be placed.

(**Article 51, preface.**) The High Contracting Parties, recognizing the moral obligation to redress (correct) the wrong done by Germany in 1871 both to the rights of France and to the wishes of the population of Alsace and Lorraine, agree upon the following Articles:

Article 51. The territories which were ceded to Germany are restored to France.

Article 80. Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria.

Article 81. Germany recognizes the complete independence of the Czechoslovak State.

Article 87. Germany recognizes the complete independence of the state of Poland. Poland became independent with the signing of the armistice in November 1918. The Versailles Treaty returned to Poland a strip of territory in order to provide Polish access to the Baltic Sea. This strip became known as the Polish Corridor and divided East Prussia from the rest of Germany. However, Germans were free to cross the Corridor. The port city, Danzig, within East Prussia, was made a free city.

Article 102. The Principal Allied Powers undertake to establish the town of Danzig as a Free City. It will be placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

Article 119. Germany renounces all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions.

Article 159. The German military forces shall be demobilized (disbanded) and reduced as prescribed hereinafter.

Article 160. By a date which must not be later than March 31, 1920, the German Army must not contain more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry.

After that date the Army of Germany must not exceed one hundred thousand men, including officers.

The total of officers must not exceed four thousand.

Taken from: *Nazi Germany*. AEP Publication. Reprinted by permission of Xerox Education Publications, (c) 1968, Xerox Corporation.

Taken from: Edwin Fenton and John M. Good. *The Shaping of Western Society*. 1974. pp. 302-304. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc.

HANDOUT C-1.1 (cont.)

Article 231. The Allied and Associate Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war.

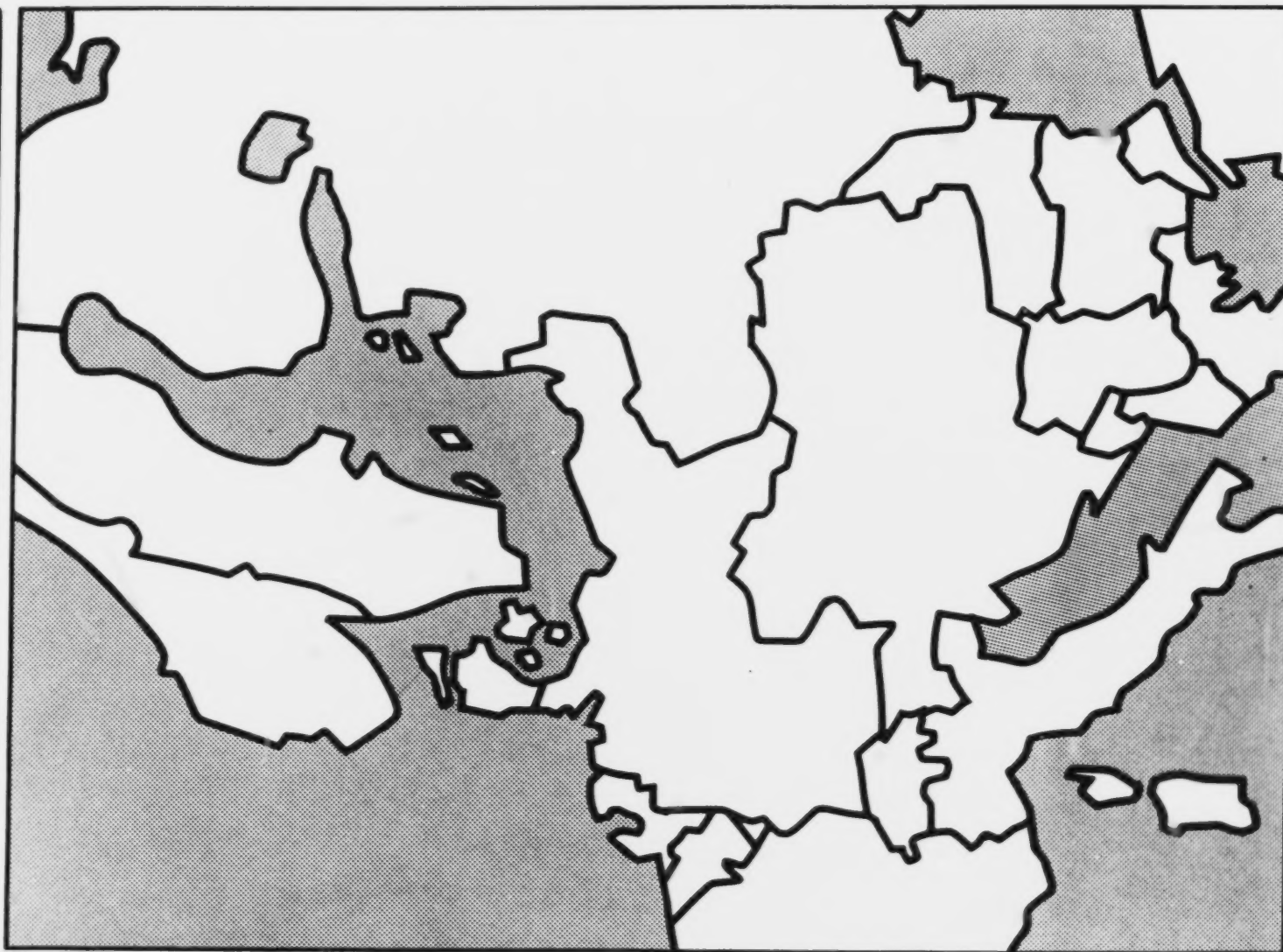
Article 232. The Allied and Associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage.

The Allied and Associated Governments, however, require, and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the belligerency (war).

Article 428. As a guarantee for the execution of the present Treaty by Germany, the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for a period of fifteen years.

Article 431. If before the expiration of the period of fifteen years Germany complies with all the undertakings resulting from the present Treaty, the occupying forces will be withdrawn.

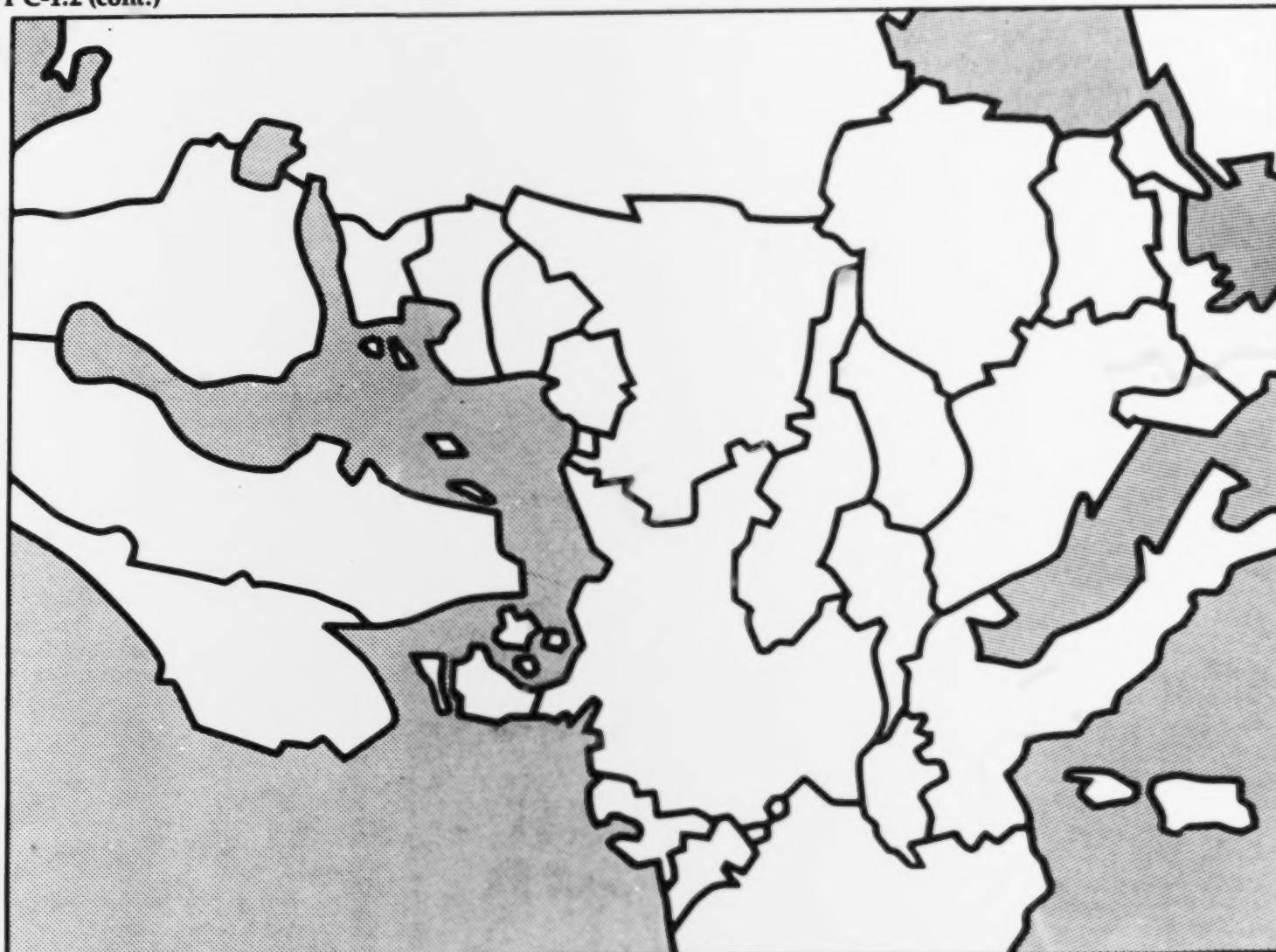
CENTRAL & EASTERN EUROPE - 1914



Maps taken from: *Senior Scholastic*, November 8, 1968.
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HANDOUT C-1.2 (cont.)

CENTRAL & EASTERN EUROPE - 1919 - 1929



Maps taken from: *Senior Scholastic*, November 8, 1968.
Used by permission of Senior Scholastic Magazine, Inc.

HANDOUT C-2.1

THE BLACK OBELISK

Erich Maria Remarque

The shipment of granite we want to extract from Riesenfeld is something we cannot, of course, pay for in advance. We never have that much money at one time and it would be madness to try to accumulate it in the bank – it would melt away like snow in June. Therefore we want to give Riesenfeld a promissory note payable in three months. That means we want to pay practically nothing.

Naturally, Riesenfeld must not lose on the transaction. That shark in the ocean of human tears needs to make a profit like every honest businessman. And so on the day he receives the note from us he must take it to his bank or ours and have it discounted. The bank ascertains that both Riesenfeld and we are good for its face value, deducts a few per cent for discounting the note, and pays out the money. We pay back to Riesenfeld the amount of the bank's commission. Thus, he receives full payment for the shipment just as though we had paid in advance. Nor does the bank lose. It immediately sends the note to the Reichsbank, which in turn pays just as the bank paid Riesenfeld. And there in the Reichsbank it remains until, on the expiration date, it is presented for payment. What it will be worth then is easy to imagine.

We have only known about all this since 1922. Before then we tried to transact business in the same way as Heinrich Kroll and almost went broke doing it. We had sold out almost our entire inventory and, to our amazement, had nothing to show for it except a worthless bank account and a

few suitcases full of currency not even good enough to paper our walls with. We tried at first to sell and then buy again as quickly as possible – but the inflation easily overtook us. The lag before we got paid was too long; while we waited, the value of money fell so fast that even our most profitable sale turned into a loss. Only after we began to pay with promissory notes could we maintain our position. Even so, we are making no real profit now, but at least we can live. Since every enterprise in Germany is financed in this fashion, the Reichsbank naturally has to keep on printing unsecured currency and so the mark falls faster and faster. The government apparently doesn't care; all it loses in this way is the national debt. Those who are ruined are the people who cannot pay with notes, the people who have property they are forced to sell, small shopkeepers, day laborers, people with small incomes who see their private savings and their bank accounts melting away, and government officials and employees who have to survive on salaries that no longer allow them to buy so much as a new pair of shoes. The ones who profit are the exchange kings, the profiteers, the foreigners who buy what they like with a few dollars, kronen, or zlotys, and the big entrepreneurs, the manufacturers, and the speculators on the exchange whose property and stocks increase without limit. For them practically everything is free. It is the great sellout of thrift, honest effort, and respectability. The vultures flock from all sides, and the only ones who come out on top are those who accumulate debts. The debts disappear of themselves.

...

The day is blue and beautiful. Over the city the sky hangs like a giant silken tent. The cool of morning still lingers in the crowns of the trees.

Birds are twittering as though nothing existed except early summer, their nests, and their young. It doesn't matter to them that the dollar, like an ugly, spongy toadstool, has puffed itself up to fifty thousand. Nor that the morning paper contains the notices of three suicides – all people of small independent means, all committed in the favorite fashion of the poor by an open gas jet. Frau Kubalke was found in her living room with her head in the gas heater; the pensioned government clerk Hopf, freshly shaved, in his last, faultlessly brushed, much-mended suit, grasping in his hand four worthless red-seal thousand-mark notes like tickets to heaven; and the widow Glass on the floor of her kitchen, her bankbook, showing deposits of fifty thousand marks, torn in two beside her. Hopf's red-seal thousand-mark notes were his last banner of hope; for a long time there has been a belief that they would sometime or other be redeemed at full value. Whence this rumor came no one knows. They were never officially payable in gold, and even if they had been, the State, that immune betrayer, which embezzles billions and jails anyone who defrauds it of as much as five marks, would find some pretext for not paying. Only day before yesterday there was a notice in the paper that these notes would not receive preferential treatment. That's the reason Hopf's death notice is in the paper today.

...

Silent and star-filled, the night hangs over the city. I am seated at the window of my room waiting for Knopf, for whose benefit I have arranged the rain pipe. It extends straight into my window and thence runs above the entrance gate to Knopf's house where the short end makes a right-angle turn in the direction of the courtyard. It cannot, however, be seen from the courtyard.

Excerpted from: *The Black Obelisk*, copyright (c) 1957 by Erich Maria Remarque. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

HANDOUT C-2.1 (cont.)

I wait, reading the newspaper. The dollar has clambered up another ten thousand marks. Yesterday there was only one suicide, but to make up for it there were two strikes. After long negotiations the government employees have finally received an increase in pay which, in the meantime, has fallen so far in value that now they can barely get an extra liter of milk a week for it. Very likely no more than a box of matches next week. The number of unemployed has risen by an additional hundred and fifty thousand. Unrest has broken out through the whole Reich. New recipes for the use of garbage in the kitchen are being recommended. The wave of grippe is still on the rise. A pension increase for the aged and infirm has been turned over to a committee for further study. Their report is expected in a few months. Meanwhile, the pensioners and invalids try to keep from starvation by begging or by borrowing from friends and relatives.

...

I come to Grossestrasse. A protest parade is slowly pushing its way toward me from the market place. Like sea gulls fluttering before a dark cloud, the brightly clad Sunday picnickers, with their children, lunch baskets, bicycles, and colorful knickknacks, scatter before it then it — is here and blocks the street.

It is a procession of war maimed, protesting against their inadequate pensions. First, on a little gocart, comes the stump of a body with a head. Arms and legs are missing. It's no longer possible to see whether the stump was once a tall man or a short one. That cannot be estimated even from the shoulders, because the arms were amputated so high up there was no place for

prostheses. The man has a round head, lively brown eyes, and a mustache. Someone must look after him every day — he is shaven, his hair and mustache have been trimmed. The little cart, which is really only a board on rollers, is being pulled by a one-armed man. The amputee sits on it very straight and attentive. After him come the wheel chairs with the legless, three abreast. The chairs have rubber-tired wheels big enough to be moved by hand. The leather aprons that cover the space where legs should be, and are usually closed, are open today. The stumps can be seen. The trousers have been carefully folded over them.

Next come the amputees on crutches. These are the strangely distorted silhouettes one sees so often — the straight crutches, with the twisted bodies hanging between them. Then follow the blind and the one-eyed. You can hear the white canes tapping the pavement and see the yellow bands with three circles on their arms. The sightless are identified by the three black circles that mark one-way streets and blind alleys — and mean "Keep Out." Many of the wounded carry placards with legends. Some of the blind do too, even though they cannot read them. "Is This the Gratitude of Our Fatherland?" one of them asks. "We Are Starving," says another.

The man on the little wagon has a stick with a sign on it thrust into his jacket. The inscription reads: "My Month's Pension Is Worth One Gold Mark." Between two other carts flutters a white banner: "Our Children Have No Milk, No Meat, No Butter. Is This What We Fought For?"

These are the saddest victims of the inflation. Their pensions are so worthless practically nothing can be done with them. From time to time the government grants them an increase — much too late, for on the day the increase is granted, it is already far too low. The dollar has gone wild; it no longer leaps by thousands and ten thousands,

but by hundreds of thousands daily. Day before yesterday it stood at 1,200,000, yesterday at 1,400,000. Tomorrow it is expected to reach two million — and by the end of the month ten. Workmen are given their pay twice a day now — in the morning and in the afternoon, with a recess of a half-hour each time so that they can rush out and buy things — for if they waited a few hours the value of their money would drop so far that their children would not get half enough food to feel satisfied. Satisfied — not nourished. Satisfied with anything that can be stuffed into their stomachs, not with what the body needs.

The procession is much slower than any other demonstration. Behind it the cars of the Sunday excursionists are piling up. It is a strange contrast — the gray, almost anonymous mass of the silent victims of war, dragging themselves along — and behind them the congested cars of the war profiteers, muttering and fuming with impatience on the heels of the war widows who, with their children, thin, hungry, woebegone, and careworn make up the end of the procession. In the cars are all the colors of summer in linen and silk — full cheeks, round arms, and round faces, the latter showing some embarrassment at being caught in so disagreeable a situation. The pedestrians on the sidewalks are better off; they simply look away, pulling their children, who would like to stay and ask questions about the maimed men. Everyone who can disappears into the side streets.

The sun is high and hot, and the wounded are beginning to sweat. It is the unhealthy, greasy sweat of the anemic that pours down their faces. Suddenly behind them there is the blast of a horn; someone has not been able to wait; he thinks he can gain a few minutes by driving past them, half on the sidewalk. All the wounded turn around. No one says a word, but they spread out and block the street. The car will have

HANDOUT C-2.1 (cont.)

to run over them in order to pass. In it is a young man in a bright suit and straw hat, accompanied by a girl. He makes a few silly, embarrassed gestures and lights a cigarette. Each of the wounded men, as they go by, looks at him. Not in reproof –

they are looking at the cigarette whose fragrant smoke drifts across the street. It is a very good cigarette; none of the wounded can afford to smoke at all. And so they sniff up as much as they possibly can while they pass.

I follow the procession to St. Mary's. There stand two National Socialists in uniform, with a

big sign: "Come to Us, Comrades! Adolf Hitler Will Help You!" The procession moves around the church. Right and left the cars can now shoot by.

HANDOUT C-2.2

THE ROAD TO POWER (1925-1931)

William L. Shirer

....Hitler was an organizer as well as a spell-binder. Curbing his ire at being forbidden to speak in public, he set to work with furious intent to rebuild the National Socialist German Workers' Party and to make of it an organization such as Germany had never seen before. He meant to make it like the Army – a state within a state. The first job was to attract dues-paying members. By the end of 1925 they numbered just 27,000. The going was slow, but each year some progress was made: 49,000 members in 1926; 72,000 in 1927; 108,000 in 1928; 178,000 in 1929.

More important was the building up of an intricate party structure which corresponded to the organization of the German government and indeed of German society. The country was divided into districts, or *Gaue*, which corresponded roughly with the thirty-four Reichstag electoral districts and at the head of which was a *gauleiter* appointed by Hitler. There were an additional seven *Gaue* for Austria, Danzig, the Saar and the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia. A *Gau* was divided into *Kreise* – circles – and presided over by a *Kreisleiter*. The next smallest party unit was an *Ortsgruppe* – a local group and in the cities these were further subdivided into street cells and blocks.

The political organization of the Nazi Party was divided into two groups: P.O. I, as it was known, designed to attack and undermine the government, and P.O. II to establish a state within a state. Thus the second group had departments of

agriculture, justice, national economy, interior and labor – and, with an eye to the future, of race and culture, and of engineering. P.O. I had departments of foreign affairs and of labor unions and a Reich Press Office. The Propaganda Division was a separate and elaborate office.

Though some of the party roughnecks, veterans of street fighting and beerhouse brawls, opposed bringing women and children into the Nazi Party, Hitler soon provided organizations for them too. The Hitler Youth took in youngsters from fifteen to eighteen who had their own departments of culture, schools, press, propaganda, "defense sports," etc., and those from ten to fifteen were enrolled in the *Deutsches Jungvolk*. For the girls there was the *Bund Deutscher Maedel* and for the women the *N.S. Frauenschaften*. Students, teachers, civil servants, doctors, lawyers, jurists – all had their separate organizations, and there was a Nazi *Kulturbund* to attract the intellectuals and artists.

After considerable difficulties the S.A. was reorganized into an armed band of several hundred thousand men to protect Nazi meetings, to break up meetings of others and to generally terrorize those who opposed Hitler. Some of its leaders also hoped to see the S.A. supplant the Regular Army when Hitler came to power. To prepare for this a special office under General Franz Ritter von Epp was set up, called the *Wehrpolitische Amt*. Its five divisions concerned themselves with such problems as external and internal defense policy, defense forces, popular defense potential, and so on. But the brown-shirted S.A. never became much more than a motley mob of brawlers....

To have at hand a more dependable band Hitler created the S.S. – *Schutzstaffel* – put their members in black uniforms similar to those worn by the Italian Fascisti and made them swear a special oath of loyalty to him personally. At first

the S.S. was little more than a bodyguard for the Fuehrer. Its first leader was a newspaperman named Berchtold. As he preferred the relative quiet of the newsroom of the *Voelkischer Beobachter* to playing at cop and soldier, he was replaced by one Erhard Heiden, a former police stool pigeon of unsavory reputation. It was not until 1929 that Hitler found the man he was looking for as the ideal leader of the S.S., in the person of a chicken farmer in the village of Waldtrudering, near Munich, a mild-mannered fellow whom people mistook (as did this author when he first met him) for a small-town schoolmaster and whose name was Heinrich Himmler. When Himmler took over the S.S. it numbered some two hundred men. By the time he finished his job with it, the S.S. dominated Germany and was a name that struck terror throughout occupied Europe.

At the top of the pyramid of the intricate party organization stood Adolf Hitler with the high-falutin title of *Partei-und-Oberster-S.A.-Fuehrer, Vorsitzender der N.S.D.A.V.* (sic) – which may be translated as "Supreme Leader of the Party and the S.A., Chairman of the National Socialist German Labor Organization." Directly attached to his office was the Reich Directorate (*Reichsleitung*) which was made up of the top bosses of the party and such useful officials as the "Reich Treasurer" and the "Reich Business Manager." Visiting the palatial Brown House in Munich, the national headquarters of the party, during the last years of the Republic, one got the impression that here indeed were the offices of a state within a state. That, no doubt, was the impression Hitler wished to convey, for it helped to undermine confidence, both domestic and foreign, in the actual German State, which he was trying to overthrow.

But Hitler was intent on something more important than making an impression. Three years

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HANDOUT C-2.2 (cont.)

after he came to power, in a speech to the "old fighters" at the Buergerbrau on the anniversary evening of November 9, 1936, he explained one of the objectives he had had in building the party up into such a formidable and all-embracing organization. "We recognized," he said, in recalling the days when the party was being reformed after the putsch, "that it is not enough to overthrow the old State, but that the new State must previously have been built up and be practically ready to one's hand.... In 1933 it was no longer a question of overthrowing a state by an act of violence; meanwhile the new State had been built up and all that there remained to do was to destroy the last remnants of the old State — and that took but a few hours."²

THE PROGRAM OF THE NAZI PARTY

The National Socialist German Workers' Party at a great mass meeting on February 25th, 1920, in the Hofbrauhaus-Festsaal in Munich announced their Programme to the world.

In section 2 of the Constitution of Our Party this Programme is declared to be inalterable.

The Programme of the German Workers' Party is limited as to period. The leaders have no intention, once the aims announced in it have been achieved, of setting up fresh ones, merely in order to increase the discontent of the masses artificially, and so ensure the continued existence of the Party.

1. We demand the union of Germans to form a Great Germany on the basis of the right of the self-determination enjoyed by nations.

² Baynes, Norman H. Editor. *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922-August 1939*. Volume I, pp. 155-156.

Taken from: *National Socialism*. (Washington: United States Department of State, 1943).

2. We demand equality of rights for the German People in its dealings with other nations, and abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain.

3. We demand land and territory (colonies) for the nourishment of our people and for settling our superfluous population.

4. None but members of the nation may be citizens of the State. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation.

5. Anyone who is not a citizen of the State may live in Germany only as a guest and must be regarded as being subject to foreign laws.

6. The right of voting on the State's government and legislation is to be enjoyed by the citizen of the State alone. We demand therefore that all official appointments, of whatever kind, whether in the Reich, in the country, or in the smaller localities, shall be granted to citizens of the State alone.

We oppose the corrupting custom of Parliament of filling posts merely with a view to party considerations, and without reference to character or capability.

7. We demand that the State shall make it its first duty to promote the industry and livelihood of citizens of the State. If it is not possible to nourish the entire population of the State, foreign nationals (non-citizens of the State) must be excluded from the Reich.

8. All non-German immigration must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans, who entered Germany subsequent to August 2nd, 1914, shall be required forthwith to depart from the Reich.

9. All citizens of the State shall be equal as regards rights and duties.

10. It must be the first duty of each citizen of the State to work with his mind or with his body.

The activities of the individual may not clash with the interests of the whole, but must proceed within the frame of the community and be for the general good.

We demand therefore:

11. Abolition of incomes unearned by work.

12. In view of the enormous sacrifice of life and property demanded of a nation by every war, personal enrichment due to a war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand therefore ruthless confiscation of all war gains.

13. We demand nationalisation of all businesses which have been up to the present formed into companies (Trusts).

14. We demand that the profits from wholesale trade shall be shared out.

15. We demand extensive development of provision for old age.

16. We demand creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class, immediate communalisation of wholesale business premises, and their lease at a cheap rate to small traders, and that extreme consideration shall be shown to all small purveyors to the State, district authorities and smaller localities.

17. We demand land-reform suitable to our national requirements, passing of a law for confiscation without compensation of land for communal purposes; abolition of interest on land loans, and prevention of all speculation in land.

18. We demand ruthless prosecution of those whose activities are injurious to the common interest. Sordid criminals against the nation, usurers, profiteers, etc. must be punished with death, whatever their creed or race.

19. We demand that the Roman Law, which serves the materialistic world order, shall be replaced by a legal system for all Germany.

20. With the aim of opening to every capable and industrious German the possibility of higher education and of thus obtaining advancement,

HANDOUT C-2.2 (cont.)

the State must consider a thorough reconstruction of our national system of education. The curriculum of all educational establishments must be brought into line with the requirements of practical life. Comprehension of the State idea (State sociology) must be the school objective, beginning with the first dawn of intelligence in the pupil. We demand development of the gifted children of poor parents, whatever their class or occupation, at the expense of the State.

21. The State must see to raising the standard of health in the nation by protecting mothers and infants, prohibiting child labour, increasing bodily efficiency by obligatory gymnastics and sports laid down by law, and by extensive support of clubs engaged in the bodily development of the young.

22. We demand abolition of a paid army and formation of a national army.

23. We demand legal warfare against conscious political lying and its dissemination in the Press. In order to facilitate creation of a German national Press we demand:

(a) that all editors of newspapers and their assistants, employing the German language, must be members of the nation;

(b) that special permission from the State shall be necessary before non-German newspapers may appear. These are not necessarily printed in the German language.

(c) that non-Germans shall be prohibited by law from participating financially in or influencing German newspapers, and that the penalty for contravention of the law shall be suppression of any such newspaper, and immediate deportation of the non-German concerned in it.

It must be forbidden to publish papers which do not conduce to the national welfare. We demand legal prosecution of all tendencies in art and literature of a kind likely to disintegrate our life as a nation, and the suppression of institutions which militate against the requirements above-mentioned.

24. We demand liberty for religious denominations in the State, so far as they are not a danger to it and do not militate against the moral feelings of the German race.

The Party, as such, stands for positive Christianity, but does not bind itself in the matter of creed to any particular confession. It combats the Jewish-materialist spirit within us and without us, and is convinced that our nation can only achieve permanent health from within on the principle: THE COMMON INTEREST BEFORE SELF.

25. That all the foregoing may be realized we demand the creation of a strong central power of the State. Unquestioned authority of the politically centralised Parliament over the entire Reich and its organizations; and formation of Chambers for classes and occupations for the purpose of carrying out the general laws promulgated by the Reich in the various States of the confederation.

The leaders of the Party swear to go straight forward – if necessary to sacrifice their lives in – securing fulfilment of the foregoing Points.

HANDOUT C-2.3

THREE PARTY PLATFORMS

Edwin Fenton, et. al.

Party A

We are committed to the overthrow of the presently existing, oppressive, bourgeois republic and all of its imperialist, capitalistic economic and social institutions. The party favors:

1. The abolition of private property and the development of the people.
2. The establishment of land reform programs, which will nationalize the usage of land for the common good of all the people. The state will own, run, and maintain the productive forces of agriculture.
3. The ownership by the people through its agency, the state, of all the industrial productive forces of the nation, in order that they might benefit all the people rather than the capitalists.
4. Organization of the government under workers' councils to replace the oppressive bourgeois regime.
5. A foreign policy devoted to develop more harmonious relations between Germany and its natural ally against capitalism, the Soviet Union.

To the German people: The cause of your misery is the oppressive domination of international capitalism. The French, British, and American capitalists, particularly, seek to exploit the labor of the workers, especially the German workers, in order that they might enrich themselves. Germans, unite to rid yourselves of this terrible burden.

Taken from: Edwin Fenton, John M. Good, Linda W. Rosenzweig, George M. Gregory. *Teacher's Guide for the Shaping of Western Society* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), pp. 166-167. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Party B

This party wishes to maintain the democratic republic and to allow Germany to take its place among the free governments of Europe.

1. The party declares that it is committed to the support of the present German republic, in order that the principles of freedom and democracy will continue in the councils of the German government and that justice will live in the hearts of our German countrymen.

2. The party states that it will honor all of Germany's obligations, political and financial, in order that Germany's honor and respect will not be decreased in the eyes of the world.

3. The party sets as one of its major goals the establishment of a more equitable arrangement of paying reparations, in order that future payments will not be harmful to the German economy as a whole. But the party accepts Germany's responsibility for paying the reparations.

4. To stimulate employment, the party will seek to create more jobs by undertaking an extensive program of public works.

5. To aid the personal burden of German workers who are not employed, the party will establish an unemployment insurance program to provide the necessities of life for the unemployed for a six-month period.

6. To aid farmers, the party will grant subsidies to holders of small farms, in order that they will not curtail production in a period of falling prices.

7. To ease the tax burden of all Germans, the party will attempt to enact significant economic measures to cut government operation expenditures. One such cut might well be in the military appropriations.

8. The party believes in the right of those who disagree with it to speak and write on those issues without interference.

Party C

This program is declared to be inalterable. The party leaders have no intention, once the announced aims have been achieved, of establishing fresh aims, which, by increasing the discontent of the masses artificially, would ensure the continued existence of the party.

1. We demand the union of all Germans, including those in Austria, to form one great Germany.

2. We demand the abolition of the Treaty of Versailles.

3. We demand that the state shall make its first duty the promotion of the industry and livelihood of the citizens of the state. If it is not possible to nourish the entire population of the state, noncitizens – namely, those without German blood (Jews) – must be excluded from this protection of the state. They will not be allowed to pursue certain occupations, nor to live from the honest industry of the German people.

4. We demand the abolition of all incomes not earned by work – namely, income from interest and dividends.

5. We demand the confiscation of all profits made by war-profiters.

6. We demand a fundamental reorganization and reorientation of the government, which hitherto has remained subservient to the demands of Germany's enemies.

7. We demand the formation of a large national army, provided for by universal military conscription.

8. We demand the maintenance of production levels by state decree.

9. We demand the stabilization of the currency by state decree.

10. The state shall raise the standard of health in the nation by protecting mothers and infants, prohibiting child labor, and increasing bodily ef-

HANDOUT C-2.3 (cont.)

iciency through obligatory gymnastics and sports.

11. That all the foregoing requirements may be realized, we demand the creation of a strong central power, especially a strong executive power, based upon the party's leadership principle.

We believe that our nation can achieve permanent health from within by following this principle: the common interest before self.

SEVEN CASE STUDIES

*Edwin Fenton
and John M. Good*

Case 1

Hermann Struts, a lieutenant in the German army, has been a lieutenant since World War I when he fought bravely on the western front. Coming from a long line of military officers and having graduated from the German military academy, Hermann is proud of Germany's military tradition. His pride is personal, because his family had been part of that tradition, and it is general, because Germany had always boasted a fine army that had secured the nation's well-being and leadership.

Yet Hermann has not been promoted for more than ten years. Because the German army had been so drastically reduced by the Treaty of Versailles, there have been relatively few promotions. In the old army, Hermann would have been at least a captain by now, because he is a resourceful officer. He probably would have been a major. Hermann resents the Versailles Treaty, which forced Germany to give up its military tradition. He believes this has forever injured Ger-

many's honor, and his honor as a soldier. He feels that if the present government had vetoed the treaty and allowed the German army to resist it, neither Germany nor he would be in their present position.

Case 2

Karin Hauptmann works in a textile factory in Berlin. Although her trade union has actively worked for better conditions and higher wages, it has not made many gains, primarily because the 1923 inflation and the present depression have weakened the entire economy. However, Karin believes that the union would succeed if the economy were stable. As it is, the union has kept her employed. When many of her friends were laid off, Karin's union persuaded the company managers to keep the senior employees. Factories where unions are weak kept only the younger employees, because the company managers say they are more productive.

Karin has been worried by the ideas many of her fellow workers have expressed recently. They have said that the greediness of the factory owners causes business cycles and that when the owners are forced to cut back production, they take it out on the workers. These fellow workers think the only way to end the depression is to let the workers control the factories and the government. Karin still believes that the workers get fair treatment as long as there are strong unions. Moreover, she thinks that managing the factories and the government should be left to people who understand these complicated jobs.

Case 3

Eric von Ronheim, chief executive of an electric motor factory in Frankfurt, is extremely concerned about the present economic depression. Reduced production means lower profits for his

company. If Germany had not been treated so harshly at Versailles, the nation would have enough resources to produce goods for consumption, and conditions would be far better. But the government had had to impose heavy taxes in order to pay the reparations the Allies had demanded. Indeed, much of his own profits are going into these taxes. Moreover, the over-taxed Germans have little money to spend on German goods, and so demand is dangerously low. Since other countries are also suffering from depressions, there is almost no foreign market for German goods. Even if Germany were to come out of the depression, Eric knows taxes would be increased to finish paying the reparations.

Eric is also worried about the menacing number of Communists in Germany who wish to organize the same kind of government as the Soviet Union has. If the Communists succeed, the capitalists would receive no mercy from the workers. And Germany would be controlled by its old enemy, the Soviet Union.

Case 4

Karl Schmidt is a steelworker in the rich steel-producing Ruhr Valley. But like so many people in the Ruhr, he is out of work. The depression has forced many steel mills to shut down until there is a market for their goods. On the day Karl's mill closed, the owners announced that shrinking profits made it impossible to keep the workers on their jobs. Yet, Karl reasons, the owners still live in big houses and drive expensive automobiles. Why are the owners protected from this economic slump while the workers suffer? The government is helping the workers somewhat with unemployment compensation, but the payments are hardly enough to support Karl, his wife Anna, and their two children. Moreover, the gov-

Taken from: Edwin Fenton and John M. Good. *The Shaping of Western Society* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), pp. 340-343. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

HANDOUT C-2.3 (cont.)

ernment has declared that it has little money left, and it cannot continue the payments much longer.

As far as Karl understands, if the government would stop paying the reparations, perhaps it could help Germany recover. But Karl also knows that if the government stops its payments, the French might again occupy the Ruhr Valley, as they had in 1923. What is needed, Karl believes, is a government that listens to the workers – perhaps even one that is run by the workers, as some of his friends argue. And he feels Germany needs a government that can deny France and the other nations the reparation payments.

Case 5

Lotte von Kohler, a prominent attorney who attended the University of Bonn, has a strong sense of the German cultural, literary, and historical traditions. She believes that the great gifts her people have contributed to western civilization have been ignored. Lotte dreams of a newly created republic uniting all the German democratic traditions and leading the way to a totally democratic Europe. She is upset by the unfortunate methods the Weimar Republic often uses to repress the parties of the extreme left more cruelly than those of the extreme right.

However, Lotte's sense of justice is more outraged by the demeaning attitude with which the Allies, particularly the French, view the German republic. She, and others like her who believe in Germany and human dignity, would like to prove to these countries that the Germans are a great race.

Case 6

Wilhelm Schultz is a peasant who works with his parents on their farm in East Prussia. His aunt and uncle live just a few miles away, in the area of East Prussia that the Versailles Treaty had sectioned off as the Polish Corridor. They send reports describing how the Poles mistreat the Germans. Wilhelm's grandparents live nearby in Danzig, but their relatives never visit them. Going to Danzig means crossing into Poland which has many travel restrictions. Wilhelm's schooling had taught him great love for the German heroes like Siegfried, and he was dismayed that his government had signed a treaty that put many Germans, like his aunt and uncle, under Polish rule. Then again, he watches people who violate basic Prussian values rise to respected positions in the government. He sees that these people are often drunk and rowdy. This is not the way Prussians should behave, Wilhelm thinks.

Wilhelm and his parents are finding times hard. The thriving port of Danzig had once been the market for his parents' goods. Now it is difficult to ship goods there because they have to cross the Polish Corridor. Besides, the Poles have opened a rival port to take business away from Danzig. Moreover, the depression does not make things easier. Finally, the Communists nearby in the Soviet Union are a constant threat to Wilhelm and his parents because they support the end of private property. Wilhelm and his parents are proud to call their land their own, for this gives them an added dignity. Communists want to take this land and this dignity from them – the last rewards the world seems to offer.

Case 7

Gerda Munchen is the owner of a small Munich grocery store started by her parents. For years her parents had saved to send her to the university. But Gerda chose not to go to the university, and the money stayed in the bank. In 1923 Gerda had had a good use for it. Her two daughters were both brilliant; one wanted to be a doctor, and the other hoped to be a lawyer. The money in the bank would have paid for their education. But that same year inflation had hit Germany because the government had printed so much money to pay the reparations. Since the money was not backed by anything economically solid, it had become nearly worthless. Two weeks before her older daughter was to leave for the university, the bank had called to say that her savings were worth only enough to buy three postage stamps. This was certainly a blow to Gerda, but it was more of a blow to her daughters whose futures hung in the balance. They asked her what kind of faith they could put in a system that ruined hard-working people.

Now in 1930, there seems little to be done to regain the losses. People are not making any money and, therefore, cannot buy as many groceries as they had before. And the competition from the big department and chain stores makes it difficult for Gerda to compete. Again Gerda's economic difficulties are not her fault. Her daughters once more question the system that has brought these hardships to their mother and to them.

HANDOUT C-2.4

NAZI VOTES

	Total Votes For Year	
Nazi Party		
1928	810,000	(2.6% of total vote)
1930	6,500,000	
1932 (March)	11,339,446	(30.1% of total vote)
1932 (April)	13,418,547	(36.8% of total vote)

Taken from: William Shirer. *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960), pp. 152; 158-9. Copyright (c) 1959, 1960 by William L. Shirer. Reprinted by permission of Simon & Schuster, Inc.

STATISTICS ON OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF MEMBERS OF THE NAZI PARTY

The Social Composition of the NSDAP
Compared with That of German Society
at Large, 1930 (in per cent)

Occupational Group	NSDAP	Society	Society = 100
Blue-collar workers	28.1	45.9	61.2
White-collar workers	25.6	12.0	213.5
Self-employed	20.7	9.0	230.0
Officials	8.3	5.1	162.7
Civil Service employees	6.6	4.2	157.1
Teachers	1.7	0.9	188.9
Farmers	14.0	10.9	132.0
Others	3.3	17.4	18.9
	100.0	100.0	

Social Structure of the NSDAP, 1930 and 1933 (in per cent)

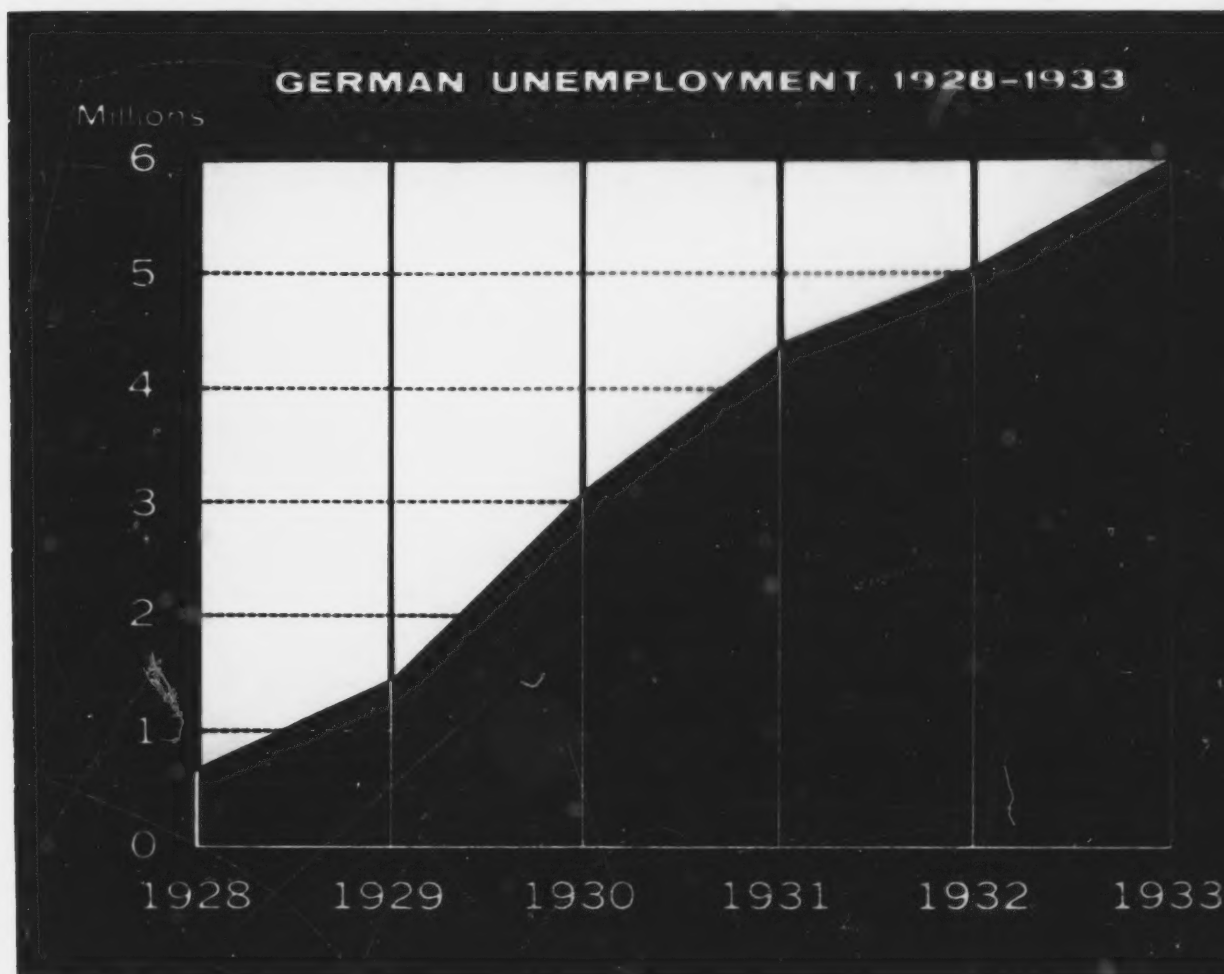
Occupational Group	1930	1933	1933 = 100
Blue-collar workers	26.3	32.5	108.4
White-collar workers	24.4	20.6	85.9
Self-employed	18.9	17.3	91.5
Officials	7.7	6.5	84.4
Farmers	13.2	12.5	94.7
Others	3.4	3.7	108.9
Persons of inde- pendent income	1.9	1.6	84.3
Housewives	3.6	4.1	113.6
Students	4.0	1.2	120.0

From Wolfgang Schafer, *NSDAP: Entwicklung und Struktur der Staatspartei des dritten Reiches* (Hannover and Frankfurt: Norddeutsche Verlagsanstalt O. Goedel, 1956), pp. 17, 19. Reprinted by permission.

Taken from: George Mosse. *Nazi Culture*. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1966), p. 346.

HANDOUT C-2.4 (cont.)

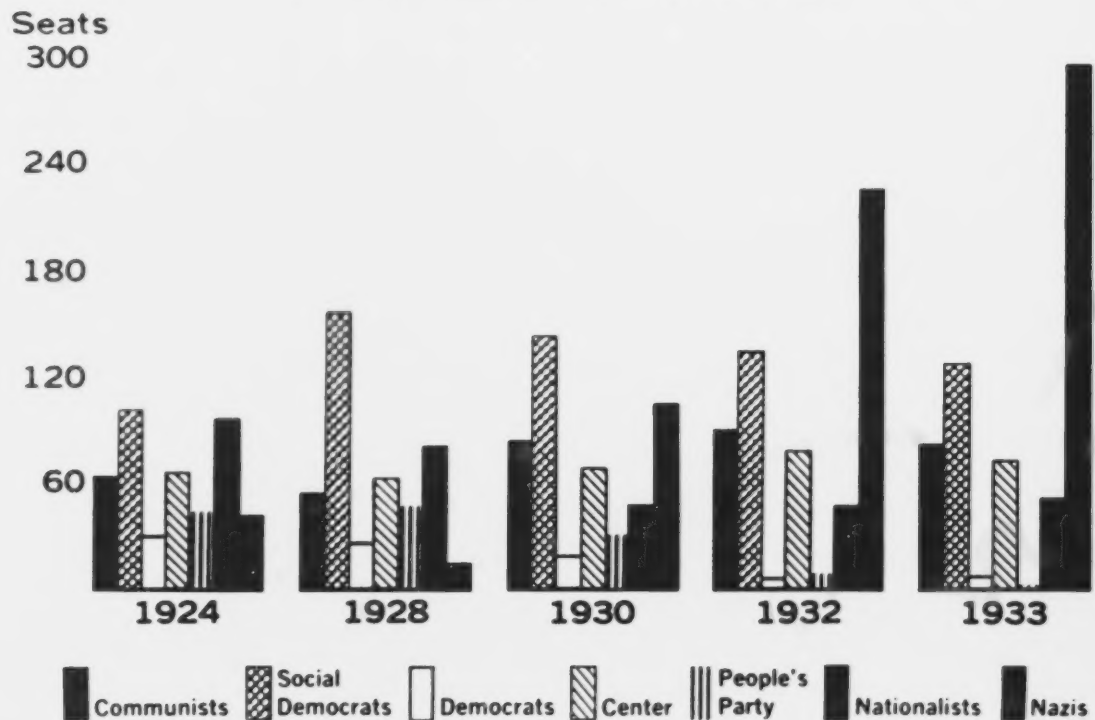
GERMAN UNEMPLOYMENT 1928-1933



Taken from: Edwin Fenton, John M. Good, Linda W. Rosenzweig, George M. Gregory. *Teacher's Guide for the Shaping of Western Society* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winton, 1974), p. 163. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

ELECTIONS TO THE WEIMAR LEGISLATURE 1924-1933

(Seats obtained by major parties)



Taken from: Edwin Fenton, John M. Good, Linda W. Rosenzweig, George M. Gregory. *Teacher's Guide for the Shaping of Western Society* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), p. 164. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

HANDOUT C-2.4 (cont.)

EMPOWERING ACT TELEGRAM
UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR FREDERIC M. SACKETT TO
SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL HULL

March 24, 1933

TELEGRAM RECEIVED
MAR 24 1933
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
MET

FROM GRAY
Berlin
Dated March 24, 1933
Rec'd 11:05 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

44, March 24, 10 a. m.

The empowering law submitted to the Reichstag by the parties represented in the government and passed last night gives the Hitler Cabinet practically unlimited powers. It transfers certain presidential prerogatives to the Chancellor while the legislative powers of the Reichstag and Reichsrath are to be assumed by the Cabinet as a whole. It gives the Cabinet the right to enact legislation modificative of the constitution which normally requires a two-thirds majority in the Reichstag, with the sole limitations that the President's powers are to remain unaffected and that the Cabinet may not enact laws abolishing the Reichstag and the Reichsrath as such. The prerogatives of these two bodies, however, are quite thoroughly emasculated by the very next article of the law.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 24 1933
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

FP
862.00/2930
FILED
Mar 24 1933
On.

155

MET

2-#44 from Berlin, Mar. 24, 10 a. m.

On the basis of this law the Hitler Cabinet can reconstruct the entire system of government as it eliminates practically all constitutional restraints. The law remains in effect till April 1, 1937 unless the present Reich Government is sooner replaced by another in which event it becomes void.

Law was passed by 441 votes against 94 belonging entirely to the Social Democrat party. The two Catholic parties swallowed the bitter pill, the spokesman of the Center saying that his party would vote for the law in spite of many misgivings "which in normal times could scarcely have been overcome".

Upon the announcement of the result of the vote the Reichstag was adjourned sine die.

Text and translation of the law being forwarded by mail.

WSB-CSB

SACKETT

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"For the Fatherland - To the Slaughterhouse" (1924)

(c) Peter Grosz, 1984.



"The White General" (1923). (c) Peter Grosz, 1984.



Untitled work (1923). (c) Peter Grosz, 1984.

HANDOUT C-3

Nazi Party Leadership

ADOLF HITLER'S EARLY YEARS

Adolf Hitler was born on April 20, 1889 in Braunau am Inn, Austria, of Alois and Klara Hitler. His father, who was much older than his mother, was very strict and contrary to Hitler's later statements, reasonably prosperous as a civil servant for the Austria-Hungarian Empire. Records of Hitler's childhood and youth are few in number; however, many legends have been created as people began to idolize Hitler later on in his life.

Adolf Hitler was evidently an alert student of average ability whose talents were blocked by a lack of self-discipline from an early age and a tendency toward an easygoing, irregular way of life. On the whole, his school report was so unsatisfactory that he dropped out of school at age 15. Hitler tried to explain this as a stubborn reaction to his father's attempt to force him into the career of a civil servant. However, by the time he left school, his father had been dead for two years and his ailing mother could not control him.

Hitler claimed that he wanted to be an artist, but he never took any serious steps toward achieving his goal. He refused to look for any work after he quit school, but instead he convinced his mother that he must go to Vienna to pursue his special artistic talent at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. He tried this in 1907 but failed the entrance exam and was rejected. Shortly afterwards his mother died and he chose to stay in Vienna, sharing an apartment for a while with a boyhood acquaintance. He tried

Adapted from: Joachim C. Fest. *The Face of the Third Reich: Portraits of the Nazi Leadership* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), pp. 3-14.

again and failed to enter the Academy, but he did not give up the aimless life to which he had become accustomed. His average monthly income from inheritance, relations, and other sources was about \$140 although he frequently wasted most of it. He was eventually reduced to taking menial jobs, sleeping in men's hostels, and eating at charity soup kitchens.

Since he had failed in every personal challenge he had faced, he developed a strong need for a feeling of superiority as a defense mechanism. He also needed a scapegoat to blame for his failures. In Vienna at the time there was already a strong element of anti-Semitism and Hitler began to accept it without question. His continuing fascination with the writings and music of Richard Wagner (a vicious anti-Semite) only served to increase his twisted view of society.

He moved to Munich, Germany, in 1913 and promptly joined the German Army when World War I broke out in 1914. The Army was good for Hitler; it gave him direction and put some order in his life. He spent four years as a regimental staff runner and won the Iron Cross first and second class. He was never, however, promoted above the rank of corporal.

The end of the War brought what Hitler had always feared, return to civilian life, to the horror of the normality in which he, homeless, without profession, without family, without purpose, had no part. By chance, the Army decided to send this obedient soldier to spy on a small radical right wing party called the German Workers' Party. This assignment amounted to perhaps the most significant set of orders in Hitler's life. This is the party he would join, and within a short time, change its name to the National Socialist German Workers' Party and become its chief spokesman.

HEINRICH HIMMLER

"A calculating man who without doubt or challenge trampled over millions, leaving behind him a trail of blood and tears, the most dreadful combination of crackpot and manipulator of power, of quack and inquisitor, that history has ever known. Concentration camps and herb gardens such as he planted at Dachau and elsewhere are the most accurate symbols of his personality." Himmler was born in 1900. His father was very authoritative and seems to have influenced his son a great deal. Himmler was an Ensign at the end of World War I, and after he got a job in Munich, he also gravitated to a radical right party, the Nazis. He was in the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923 and eventually joined the SS in 1926. By 1929 he was appointed head of the then barely three-hundred-man strong SS. He proved his abilities by expanding the force to over 50,000 men by 1933. By 1936 he became Reichsfuehrer SS. He had always been determined to make his SS an elite—better uniforms, better trained, better organized, and, in the beginning at least, the men were carefully selected for membership. Eventually the Third Reich became an SS State with the SS more and more exclusively engaged in mass murder and extermination. Himmler was originally devoted to his idol Hitler. However, when the tide of war turned and Hitler's increasingly obvious future became apparent to him, his devotion began to crumble. In an attempt to save his own life in a post-war world, he began from 1943 on to have contacts with the Resistance Movement. He even played a still unclassified role in the July 20, 1944 bomb plot on Hitler's life. At the end of the war, he tried to contact Eisenhower on his own to surrender The Third Reich but was re-

Adapted from: Joachim C. Fest. *The Face of the Third Reich: Portraits of the Nazi Leadership* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), pp. 111-124.

HANDOUT C-3 (cont.)

buffed. He tried to escape "disguised" as a sergeant in the Gestapo! He was captured but committed suicide before the Nuremberg Trials.

REINHARD HEYDRICH

Hitler referred to this man, who was Himmler's assistant, as the "Man with the Iron Heart"! He was described as having devil-like coldness and an insatiable greed for power. Most of his colleagues were genuinely afraid of him and felt that sooner or later he would become the Fuehrer. He had been court-martialled out of the Navy in 1930 and proceeded to join the SS. Himmler didn't want him but Hitler said yes. Hitler warned, however, that this highly gifted young man was very dangerous. That assessment proved to be accurate. This tall, blond, athletic man was indispensable when there was dirty business to be done. He was once called a "young evil god of death." He had a deeply split personality. He was beset by bitterness and self-hatred for there was a serious flaw in his background Jewish ancestry. He once shot the mirror in his own home because he couldn't stand the image he saw reflected in it. As an edge against possible problems, he kept detailed files on everyone else, gathering as much damaging information as possible. (He kept these files in a safe outside the country). By 1934, he had become head of the Gestapo as well as the SD (Internal Security of SS) and the Criminal Police (1936). At 32, he was one of the most powerful men in the country. The Final Solution to the Jewish Problem was given to him on January 24, 1939. In 1941, he went to Prague, Czechoslovakia, to take charge of bringing that area un-

der complete control. The Prague experience surprised many people. Heydrich opened with outright terrorism and then turned to considerable tactical and psychological skill that began to win over some workers and peasants. The Czechoslovakian underground was very alarmed, and the exiles in London plotted his assassination. A bomb, thrown under Heydrich's car on May 27, 1942, exploded, leaving Heydrich seriously wounded. He died a week later. While the Nazis completely destroyed the town of Lidice in a public retaliation, many of his fellow Nazis were relieved that he was gone.

JOSEF GOEBBELS

"Propaganda was the genius of National Socialism." It was often stated that propaganda made the Third Reich and that the man who made the propaganda was Josef Goebbels. As one of the most gifted propagandists of modern times, he stood head and shoulders above the mediocrity of the rest of the Reich's top-ranking functionaries. He became devoted to Hitler in the mid-1920s and rarely thought of disobeying an order. He is the one who turned "Der Fuehrer" into the German messiah. He, like most primary figures of Nazi leadership, found a home in the Nazi Party (1924) after having failed in some form or another in the "outside" world. Goebbels had earned a Ph.D. in Romantic-Drama but was unable to earn a living from it. In the Nazi Party, he discovered his true talent—that of organized lying. He seems to have had little conviction himself although he admitted the reason Hitler was so dangerous was that Hitler believed in what he said. It is also fairly certain that Goebbels did not take the Aryan racial theory seriously, for it was never

mentioned inside his ministry. This conflict might have resulted from the fact that he was tormented by feelings of physical inadequacies. He had a weak constitution, a crippled foot, and stood 5'4" tall. When he appeared in Geneva in 1933 as a representative of the Reich, a caricature in a Swiss newspaper portrayed a crippled, little man with black hair; the caption read: "Who is that? Oh that's the representative of the tall, healthy, fair-haired and blue-eyed Nordic Race!" He was very anti-Semitic which was possibly a form of self-hatred, for his early associates called him "Rabbi." This fascination and concern about his image carried through to the very end. He seemed to fear a death devoid of dramatic effects. He said, "We shall go down as this earth's greatest statesmen or greatest criminals." He is the one who organized the suicides in the Fuehrerbunker of Hitler and his wife Eva, Goebbels, his wife, and six children (the children were murdered by their parents).

HERMANN GORING

The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials listed the following jobs for Goring in the Third Reich: Supreme Leader of the SA, General in the SS, President of the Reichstag, Reich Minister for Air, Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force, and (from 1939 to Mid-April, 1945) Successor Designate to Hitler. Hermann Goring was a slim, highly decorated World War I pilot who was very angry and disillusioned when the War was over. Goring was a very efficient organizer. During the War, he had taken command of "Red Baron" von Richthofen's Flying Circus and molded its headstrong superstars into a disciplined fighting team. For his Fuehrer, he proceeded to exercise similar leadership such as transferring a rabble of SA things into all-too-efficient shock troops. By the time he was Reich Marshal with many of the previously

Adapted from: Joachim C. Fest. *The Face of the Third Reich: Portraits of the Nazi Leadership* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), pp. 98-110.

Adapted from: Joachim C. Fest. *The Face of the Third Reich: Portraits of the Nazi Leadership* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), pp. 83-97.

HANDOUT C-3 (cont.)

mentioned jobs, he was an avid art lover, conservationist, and he strongly opposed using animals for medical experiments. (Behind his desk hung a sign "Who tortures animals wounds the feelings of the German people!") Though he skillfully copied Hitler's anti-Semitism, he evidently was not totally committed to it for most of his career. Goring's soft line on "race" earned the contempt of Himmler. He was very obedient to the Fuehrer, but his attempts to live a high life style (champagne, caviar, castles, etc.) took a large toll on his effectiveness. Ironically, the more he tried to obey every word from Hitler, the more he fell from favor. (Perhaps that was because his Luftwaffe was meeting more and more defeat.) Upbraided and attacked, he did what most fearful executives do: he simply ducked responsibility and lived for himself. He was captured and put on trial at Nuremberg. He was sentenced to be hanged but committed suicide by cyanide before the sentence could be carried out.

ADOLF EICHMANN

During the Third Reich, Eichmann was head of the Bureau of Jewish Affairs at Reich Security Headquarters. He was a member of the SS (Gestapo) and S.A. (Internal security for the SS). In the Third Reich, Eichmann was unknown to the general public as were ten thousand other high level bureaucrats. At the end of the War, his name came to be identified all over the world with genocide and murder. He was born in 1906 in the Rhineland, but by 1914 had moved to Upper Austria and actually attended one of the same schools Hitler did. He returned to Germany and joined the Nazi Party on April 1, 1932. Even though Eichmann always claimed that he was no more than the last link of a chain of command, this is not the case. The chain was actually rather short. After a while, Eichmann was dealing directly with the head of the Gestapo (Mueller), who was responsible to Heydrich, who in turn answered only to Himmler. He was in charge of the deportations to the various concentration

camps. He made the concentration camp system operate. He escaped at the end of the war and spent fifteen years in Latin America. He was captured in 1960 in Buenos Aires and put on trial in Jerusalem in 1961. He was found guilty and put to death by hanging on May 31, 1962. His body was cremated and the ashes were thrown into the sea.

Note to students: For a more complete description of Eichmann's role in the Nazi Holocaust, consult the following sources:

- Jochen von Lang with Claus Sibyll. *Eichmann Interrogated* (1983).
- Hannah Arendt. *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963).
- Jacob Robinson. *And the Crooked Shall Be Made Straight* (1965).

For a more complete biography of Heinrich Himmler, consult: Bradley F. Smith. *Heinrich Himmler: A Nazi in the Making. 1900-1926* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1971).

HANDOUT C-4

THE NAZI SEIZURE OF POWER

William Sheridan Allen

This is a history of a single small town in Germany during the last years of the Third Reich. It is an attempt to understand one of the central political and moral problems of the twentieth century: how a civilized democracy could be plunged into a nihilistic dictatorship. I chose to approach this problem by studying a single town partly because no close study of the local aspects of the Nazi Revolution existed.

. . .

Nazi measures on the local level were a key to the establishment of totalitarianism in Germany. Before Hitler came to power he gained support through the virtuosity and adaptability of his local party organizations. The actual seizure of power in the spring of 1933 occurred largely from below, though it was facilitated and made possible by Hitler's position as Chancellor of Germany. The **Fuehrer** reached the pinnacle of power because his followers were successful at the lowest level, at the base.

A single unit can never adequately reflect the whole. The subject of this book was not, in many ways, an average German town. It was heavily middle class; it was more closely tied to the countryside and less to industry than most German towns; it was overwhelmingly Lutheran; it turned to Nazism earlier and more strongly than most of the rest of Germany. Yet it does show representative characteristics: in the activism of the Nazi party, in the sociological strengths and

weaknesses of the Social Democrats, in the attitudes of the nationalistic middle class, in voting trends, in the growth of political activity and partisan violence, and perhaps in other ways that will become apparent only when other towns are studied in similar detail. In this sense it is not a true microcosm, though it can be instructive of broader trends. I offer it as at least one concrete example of what the Nazi Revolution meant in all its varied aspects of one confined area.

. . .

The factors that brought Thalburg to the brink of the Third Reich with a three-fifths Nazi majority (almost double the national average) were not numerous, but they were complexly interrelated. Paramount among them was the depression. Though only the working class suffered physically in the three-year crisis, the town's middle class was more decisively affected through fears that an ultimate catastrophe would thrust upon it the same fate as the "shelterless," or that social revolution would destroy its status. More important than the actual misery caused by the depression was the constant flow of news items stressing that misery.

There were only seventeen bankruptcies in Thalburg in the entire depression era, eleven of which befell small, marginal shop owners, and the other six for causes dissociated from the depression. But the bankruptcies were strung out over a long period of time and each involved lengthy and dolorous legal proceedings, all faithfully reported in the press. At the high point of unemployment, in April, 1932, only 8 per cent of the townspeople were unemployed, but the constant protests, fights, demonstrations, and the endless stream of grey-faced workers coming to the District Employment Office kept unemployment uppermost in the minds of the town's mid-

dle class. Nazi agitation drew upon this mood and intensified the unsettled atmosphere.

The despair of the unemployed not only terrified and repelled the middle class, it also destroyed the self-confidence of the workers. Years of idleness sapped their discipline; the destruction of the power of their unions left them exposed to crude economic pressures. Wage gains acquired over a decade were swept away, and even those who still held jobs lived in fear of losing them....

Thalburg was a nationalistic town long before 1930, though as the depression wore on, commitment to nationalism and militarism increased. Outside forces contributed to this, as did Nazi propaganda, but by manipulating the symbols of patriotism the NSDAP (Nazi Party) in Thalburg associated itself with an important tradition. The same applied to the Nazis' exploitation of religious feelings, especially their use of Lutheran pastors as speakers in Thalburg. The association of the German Nationalist party with the Nazis was also a reciprocal one. The DNVP (German Nationalist Party) and NSDAP were more or less in alliance throughout the entire pre-Hitler era in Thalburg. The only period of real bitterness between the two came under the von Papen government, when counter-charges of "reactionaries" and "socialistic radicals" filled the air. Then, in January, 1933, the Nazis and Nationalists acted in concert again, since the Hitler government was originally a coalition.

. . .

A further factor which aided the rise of Nazism in Thalburg was politicalization. The yearnings and needs created by the depression, class antagonisms, and resurgent nationalism all seemed capable of political solution. Constant elections meant constant campaigning and each campaign

Taken from: William Sheridan Allen. *The Nazi Seizure of Power; The Experience of a Single German Town 1930-1935* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), pp. ix; x; 132-136. (c) 1965 by William Sheridan Allen. Used by permission of Franklin Watts, Inc.

HANDOUT C-4 (cont.)

spurred bitterness and radicalism. From the local elections of November, 1929, to the Reichstag elections of November, 1932, there were nine major campaigns, five in 1932 alone. Thalburgers voted heavily in all of these. This followed the pattern of the whole electoral district, which had the second highest voting participation record of Germany's thirty-five electoral districts. In Thalburg, between 94 per cent and 97 per cent of those eligible voted in each of the major elections. Since registration was automatic, only the sick and feeble-minded stayed home. The rest were involved in politics, which is to say that political passion pervaded almost all areas of human existence in Thalburg.

All of these factors contributed to the Nazi success in Thalburg, but even favorable circumstances do not explain the remarkable Nazi leap from 123 votes to almost 4,200 votes in three years' time. To understand this one must consider the skill and effort which the Nazis put into campaigning. Quantity was the first component.

In the three-year period from January, 1930, to January, 1933, the Nazis averaged close to three meetings per month in Thalburg. As the years went on, the number, size, and variety of the Nazis' public functions increased. High points were reached during election campaigns; in July, 1932, there were six Nazi functions: three meetings with speeches, two parades followed by rallies, and one "evening of entertainment." Furthermore, activity was constant; throughout the entire three-year period there were only two months without Nazi meetings (August and November, 1932). Vigor was the strongest impression.

Nazi propaganda efforts in Thalburg went beyond pure activism. Persistent, imaginative, and driving effort was coupled with a shrewd appreciation of what was specifically suitable for Thalburg, and for each element in the town. Aside from general speeches on nationalism, Jews, and "Marxists," there were meetings devoted to artisans, businessmen, civil servants, pensioners, and workmen. Thalburg's local pe-

culiarities were taken into account; there was little real anti-semitism in the town, hence this was soft-pedaled. But the townspeople were strongly religious and this was exploited to the hilt. When there was no specific group to be appealed to, the Nazis relied on pageantry, "evenings of entertainment," film showings, plays, acrobatic acts, lotteries, dances, sport exhibitions, military displays, recitals by children, and other expedients from a seemingly inexhaustible bag of tricks. They drew the tortured masses into the mammoth meetings where one could submerge oneself in the sense of participating in a dynamic and all-encompassing movement geared towards radical action in fulfillment of every need. The enemy was defined in similar terms: he was the Jew, the Socialist, the godless one, or, if one preferred amorphous generalities, the System which was to blame for everything from the collapse of the Enterprise Bank to the Treaty of Versailles....

HANDOUT C-5

EDUCATION FOR DEATH: NAZI YOUTH MOVEMENTS

Gregor Ziemer

State of New York }
County of New York } SS

GREGOR ZIEMER, being duly sworn deposes and says that:

The following are true and correct extracts from the book entitled "Education for Death," of which I am the author, and which was published by the Oxford University Press in the year 1941; and that the statements made in these extracts are true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief:

"I knew enough about Nazi red tape to realize that if I wrote a letter it would get buried under the huge piles of decrees and counter-decrees which Herr Rust was always pouring into Germany. I would never see the inside of a German School. But I prepared my request, stating that I was an American in charge of the American School, grateful for German hospitality; that I was eager to understand the new Nazi methods and the efficient administration in his department; that I would soon return to America, would be asked about Nazi pedagogy, and would be able to talk with much more authority if I had actually visited some of the Nazi schools that were producing such unprecedented results.

"The interview was one I shall not forget. Nor have I forgotten much of the exact phraseology used by Herr Rust (Minister of Education). My

notes were written out very completely in the lobby of the Adlon Hotel, two minutes from the Ministry.

"Rust was a huge man, overflowing his mahogany chair and lolling over his polished desk. He was pasty-faced, his eyes shifted from object to object, his mustache twitched. He seemed indescribably sad and appeared to find concentration difficult.

"Heil Hitler! he greeted me without rising. He glanced at my letter lying on the desk. 'You are an Amerikaner?'

'Yes, Herr Minister.'

'What do you Americans teach about us Nazis in your schools in America?'

I regretted exceedingly that I could not tell him. I had not been back in America for some time, I said.

'But here in your American School in Berlin you have an American school, nicht? What do you teach about us?'

I regretted again. Our school had only one purpose, I declared: to keep American children in touch with American education. We avoided all politics. We taught only arithmetic, geography, writing, French, science. Of course, we availed ourselves humbly of the cultural opportunities Germany offered; we visited German museums, attended operas, and studied historic spots....

"And you have Jews in your school', he thundered, interrupting me.

I was on thin ice. He knew that I realized it.

'Herr Minister,' I said, 'those Jewish students are boys and girls who are going to America shortly. And you don't want them in your schools, do you?'

'I can still hear his answer. His half-shut eyes suddenly blazed hatred. 'America,' he said, 'America is foolish, furchtbar foolish, to absorb so many Jews. But then, America always has been foolish, Americans always knew everything bet-

ter. You will see. I believe some day Germany will have to teach America a good lesson. And now what do you want of me?'

I repeated in substance what I had already written.

He leaned back again, seemed to consider, toyed with the Iron Cross on the left pocket of his brown Hitler shirt.

'You want to inspect our institutions. Why?'

I told him his system had been remarkably successful for its purpose. I wanted to confirm that personally.

'He peered at me as if trying to discover any lurking thoughts I might have. Impatiently he punched a button.

'Bring me the official teachers' manual,' he ordered.

A paper-covered book, as thick as a high school algebra text, was reverently laid on his desk.

Rust became very official. In the book, he said, I would find the complete outline of all work done in Nazi schools. In the introduction, he added with self-satisfaction, I would discover what the Minister for Culture and Education had personally decreed. In those pages he had made his own views perfectly clear. I was advised to study the manual and tell American teachers about it. It would reveal that Young Germany was in deadly earnest.

'I have another direct quotation in my notes: 'Germany always has been and by rights ought to be the focal point of culture in the world,' Rust informed me, pounding the table. 'Your democracies have temporarily degraded us with the cursed Treaty of Versailles. Those days are gone, never to return. German Nordic culture will cover the world, will sweep all before it wird alles vor sich her fegen. We will give your request due consideration. Meanwhile, you have the manual, the official basis for our education. Study it. Heil Hitler, Sieg Heil!'

Taken from: *Trials of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal*. Nuremberg, Germany, 1948. Document 2441-PS, Vol. XXX, pp. 502-541.

HANDOUT C-5 (cont.)

• • •

"When does the Nazi Party become interested in the German child?" I asked a high official in the imposing office of Baldur von Schirach, Marshal of Militant Young Germany, Kronprinzen Ufer 10, Berlin.

"Before it is conceived," was the quick answer."

"The tall young official glowed with arrogant enthusiasm. He saw my astonishment and explained in detail that there would be little use in driving out the impure Jew if Germany did not make a scientific effort to prevent undesirables from being born. Hitler wanted a superrace; this could result only from mating of healthy individuals.

His desk was littered with pamphlets; the wall was colored with statistical graphs and curves, all indicating the low birthrate during the German republic, but revealing an astonishing rise since 1933.

He lectured me on the efficiency of the Nazi Gesundheitsamt (health office) and the examinations which young mating couples cheerfully undergo before they obtain the Party sanction to mate.

He intimated that soon the Nazi health certificate would replace marriage documents. He explained the Erbgesundheitsgesetz, the Nazi law for hereditary good health.

"Is there no slip-up?" I inquired. "Are there not undesirables who have children anyway, in spite of laws? Can you control the biological urge of a nation?"

"But we do not wish to control or stifle the biological urge," he exclaimed briskly. "On the contrary, we are fostering it wherever we can. But soon there will be no puny, feeble-minded, diseased children in Germany."

"I needed more information. He was very patient, but peered at me as if my naivete was appalling to him.

The undesirables, the feeble-minded, those afflicted with incurable diseases, even the antagonistic in spirit would not have any more children, he explained. That was the wish of the Fuehrer, and Young Germany carried out his decrees.

• • •

"The most typical one (home for unmarried mothers) was near a small village in the Harz Hills, among the pines and lakes Bad Sachsa. The large wooden structure, four stories high, had formerly been a luxury hotel managed by a Jew who is now in Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp. The swastika over it fluttered gaily. The spacious reception room was airy, comfortably supplied with wicker furniture, white curtains, and flowers.

"My arrival was expected. The middle-aged matron in charge greeted me with the usual Heil Hitler. I told her I was especially interested in what the Party did for women who were going to have State children (formerly known as illegitimate children).

"I was informed that the home was especially anxious to have such girls. They deserved special credit and special care for contributing a child to the State. According to the matron some of these girls still found silly, narrow-minded disapproval among relatives. As a result they occasionally developed Hemmungen (spiritual inhibitions). Thus handicapped, they would not produce good superchildren. But they found peace and quiet in the NSV (1) homes; the Party paid the bill.

(1) National Socialist Welfare Organization.

"When I asked if I could talk to one of the prospective mothers, she looked at me speculatively, trying to discover my motive in asking. Her sharp blue eyes betrayed distrust for a moment, but that passed.

"Some of them, she told me, would not wish to talk to me, for they were in the advanced stages of pregnancy. But there was one — a very intelligent girl that might. She hurried to her row of files and looked at her records. Each girl had signed a statement that the father of her coming child was Aryan and in good health. That was all the registration required.

"The girl's name was Magda. She was outside on the Wiese, the meadow. We found her. She was not beautiful, but definitely not unattractive. She was what the Germans call eine intelligente Frau, with sharp intelligent features, high forehead, delicate nose and brows. She was wearing a German Turnanzug, a blue jacket with long sleeves, open at the neck, and slacks to match. She was lying in the grass on her back, her legs up, reading a book.

"She rose carefully. The matron introduced us in the formal German manner. Magda, whose last name I never learned, was self-possessed and just a trifle sharp in her manner, obviously wondering what the stranger wanted.

"I explained that I was an American educator interested in the study of Nazi institutions. Her face broke into a very feminine smile. Wasn't I a bit early in coming to her with educational matters?"

"Not too early," interrupted the matron. "I am sure Magda's child is going to be a very good Nazi."

"It was then I was allowed to peep behind the mask of this prospective young mother carrying an illegitimate child. Her eyes glowed with a fanaticism that was intense, devouring. Her an-

HANDOUT C-5 (cont.)

swer was one of those I did not have to write down to remember:

"My child will belong to the State. I am bringing it into the world because he has asked me to. She was referring to Hitler, of course.

"Every morning the women listened to an hour's lecture on what Nazism really meant. After they returned home they became the stanchest workers in their communities. And the Party kept complete record of the children too. Infants of women who had been in the NSV home were NSV wards. Representatives were sent out regularly to contact them.

"We keep the children safe for Hitler until the schools take them over at the age of six," the matron summarized this phase of her work."

• • •

"This is the story of the Pimpf, the Little Fellow. The Nazi Party takes him from the NSV at the age of six, and keeps him until he is ten. He wears a dignified uniform: heavy black shoes, short black stockings, black shorts, a brown shirt with a swastika armband, and a trench cap.

"The Pimpf organization lays the groundwork for Party activities in the Jungvolk and the Hitler Youth. The boy receives a number, and is given a Leistungsbuch, an efficiency record book. Throughout the years it records not only his physical development, and his advancement in military prowess, but also his ideological growth. His school, home, and Party activities are minutely supervised, controlled, inspected, and indelibly registered.

"At the age of ten the Pimpf must pass a rigid examination as outlined in the Pimpf manual, before he can be promoted to the Jungvolk.

"If he fails to be promoted, he is made to feel that he would be better off dead; if he does pass, he is told that he must be ready to die for Hitler in the Jungvolk, even as he was ready to die for him in the Pimpf stage."

• • •

Until the girls in Nazi Germany are fourteen, they are classified as **Jungmaedel**, young girls. During this time they acquire those rudiments of education that the Party considers essential. But, above all, they are made conscious of their mission in the Third Reich to be bearers of healthy children. Hence the subject of sex is broached early and realistically.

Their uniforms, called **Kluften**, include heavy marching shoes, stockings which emphasize durability rather than beauty, full blue skirts, white blouses, cotton neckerchiefs with wooden rings bearing the group insignia. For bad weather the girls have heavy blue 'training suits,' slacks, and capes. They usually go bareheaded.

The State is interested especially in their physical health. Jungmaedel are expected to be healthy of body, stoic of mind, and unyielding in their convictions that the savior of Germany is Adolf Hitler.

• • •

Jungvolk are the Nazi boys from ten to fourteen. This stage precedes the Hitler Youth and follows the Pimpf. The rigid system of recording physical achievements as prescribed for the Pimpf is continued, but on a more comprehensive scale.

The Jungvolk is divided into approximately six hundred smaller units, the Jungbanne. These go through a series of Spartan tests. The marches

are longer, the hunger periods come more often, the privileges granted are fewer than those for the Pimpf.

The boys of ten begin their lives in the Jungvolk with an initiation ceremony at which they again swear to give up their lives for Hitler. They conclude their Jungvolk activities with a similar ceremony, more devout, more intense in nature.

• • •

Three letters are sacred to every German girl from fourteen to twenty-one years of age: BDM, the abbreviation for **Bund Deutscher Maedel** — League of German Girls.

The oath that the girls swear when they are initiated on the eve of Hitler's birthday includes the clause of self-sacrifice.

From the minute they don the BDM uniforms, elaborate with emblems, letters, triangles, and swastikas, one thought governs their lives; a mature thought, nourished by biological eagerness and restlessness: What can we do, what can we learn, how can we live to prepare ourselves for our great mission — to be the mothers of Hitler's future soldiers?

• • •

"German boys from fourteen to eighteen belong to the Hitler Youth. They are Hitler's secondary army ready to die for him, but ready to fight first. And they consider themselves well equipped, mentally and physically.

"On their ideological foundation, laid when they were Pimpfs and Jungvolk, the Hitler Youth erect a superstructure of knowledge useful to soldiers: *Deutschkunde*, including a study of Germanic culture, Party history, military geography; natural science, chemistry; mathematics; and a

HANDOUT C-5 (cont.)

foreign language. There is, naturally, further education in Hitler doctrines.

"The Hitler Jugend, HJ, as it is known, has its own system of ranks and promotions. It maintains its own leadership schools and camps. The uniforms resemble those of the regular Storm Troopers.

"The outstanding characteristic of the HJ is their conviction that they are the most powerful

youth organization in the world. To outsiders they seem impatient to prove it.

"They realize their own importance, for has not the Fuehrer, in a speech addressed to his boys in the Lustgarten, Berlin, 1929, told them, 'Youth has its own State'?

"Dr. Joseph Goebbels has given them another slogan. In HJ Marschier ("Hitler Youth Marches") he informs German boys: 'The older generation says, "He who has the Youth, has the

Future." We say, "He who has the Future, has the Youth." That is why Youth follows Hitler and his ideology which is the embodiment of the dreams and hopes of Youth. Don't let the older generation influence you. We will win. For Youth Is Always Right!'

• • •

D. "The Final Solution"

Statement of Purpose:

The ability of the Nazis to continuously build on their vehement anti-Semitism and race hatred until it reached its tragic climax is paramount to an understanding of the Holocaust. Genocide reached its peak efficiency at this point, and the student should appreciate the factors that contributed to it and the extent of this tragedy. Students should begin to understand how technology, conformity, mass media, and blind obedience to authority were used by the Nazis to victimize their "enemies."

Objectives:

- Students will discuss the chronology of the Holocaust;
- Students will analyze the ways in which language and propaganda were used by the Nazis;
- Students will examine the steps the Nazi government took to prepare the people for genocide;
- Students will analyze the function and purpose of the various Nazi concentration camps;
- Students will investigate the misery and horror of camp life;
- Students will empathize with camp victims.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Have students use Handout D-1.1, to review the events of the Holocaust. Either in large or small groups have them condense this list to a

simple form of 10-15 items that still show the rapid and serious progression of the Holocaust. Have them justify their choices. Emphasize with students that:

- The Holocaust really happened - it is not legend, personal bias, or distortion of facts.
- WHILE NOT ALL THE VICTIMS WERE JEWS, ALL THE JEWS WERE VICTIMS.**
- Contrary to the opinion of the Nazis, Jews in Germany totaled only .08 percent of that nation's population.

Handout D-1.2 serves as a useful summary of the Final Solution. This brief reading describes many of the events included on the chronology. Have students read Handout D-1.2 and then use the chronology or a timeline to place the key dates in historical perspective. Students should refer to this overview of the Holocaust as they complete the activities and readings in this section.

- A useful summary of the Nazi Holocaust was presented in the April 17, 1981 issue of *Senior Scholastic* (pp. 25-29). This summary, authored by Samuel F. O'Gorman, and titled "Face to Face with a Holocaust" might prove useful as an introduction to this section and would help students to place the events listed in the chronology (Handout D-1.1) in historic perspective. For information about this article, write: Senior Scholastic, Editorial Office, 50 West 44th Street, New York, New York 10036.
- The Handouts included in D-2 (2.1, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4) focus on two important events that took place prior to the Nazi implementation of

the Final Solution: the enactment of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935 and the Crystal Night pogrom of November 9-10, 1938. Students should understand how these events, in addition to Nazi racial theories and anti-Jewish propaganda, served as precursors to the Final Solution.

After students study the Handouts 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3, ask them to outline the provisions of the Nuremberg Laws. Have students explain how these laws codified Nazi prejudicial thinking against the Jews and appealed to a sense of obedience to authority. After reading Handout 2.4, ask students to describe how Crystal Night represented a logical extension of the anti-Jewish, prejudicial thinking incorporated in the Nuremberg Laws.

- Remind students that while Nazism was a product of history, it was still a big step from accepting Hitler to the collective violence of the Holocaust. Place the following terms on the chalkboard. Point out to students that these characteristics must exist in a society in order for collective violence to take place:

- Frustration
- Scapegoating
- Having available models of violence
- Having discovered that violence brings success

Have students use their notes and Handouts from Unit III. B and C to point out how these characteristics applied to Germany during the period from 1919 to 1933. Refer students also to previous discussions concerning prejudicial

attitudes and scapegoating. Emphasize that in order for a group to become scapegoats, the members of that group must have been:

- Previously victimized
- Available for persecution
- Incapable of retaliation
- Identifiable

Ask students to discuss if Jews fit any or all of these characteristics. Have students present examples from Unit III. A to support their opinions.

- The reactions of many Jews and non-Jews living at the time of the Holocaust was one of denial. Common reactions included:
 - "They wouldn't kill all of us."
 - "These are just rumors the German nation wouldn't do that to us."

Put these quotations on the chalkboard. Before continuing this lesson, ask students to define the concept "Denial of Reality" as presented in Unit I. Then ask:

- Other than denial, what other reactions might the Jews have had?
- What is the difference between retaliation and resistance?

Part of the reason for the Jewish and Slavic denial of reality was based upon the use of language. Have students study Handout D-3 and then respond to the following questions:

- How can language be used to distort reality?
- What are code words? Euphemisms?
- In what ways did the Nazis manipulate or distort the meaning of such words as "resettlement," "special treatment," and "final solution" in order to serve their own ends?

Have students find present-day examples of how language is used to deny reality or to hide the truth.

- Handout materials included in D-4 focus on the Nazi euthanasia program aimed at killing those children and adults the Nazis viewed as living "a life devoid of value." Historians maintain that the euthanasia campaign served as a training ground for the extermination program instituted after World War II began.

Handout D-4.1 serves as a brief overview of the euthanasia program. For a more complete, scholarly description, students should read Handout D-4.2. After studying the material on euthanasia, ask students to discuss the following:

- What is euthanasia?
- What reasons did the Nazis give for "mercy killing" handicapped children and adults?
- How did the Nazis' euthanasia campaign fit into their theories on race and the Nazi Program? (See also: Unit II. B and III. B.)
- How might a government use a euthanasia program to prepare its citizens to accept genocide?

- As noted in Unit III. C., Nazi Rise to Power, the videotape series *Witness to the Holocaust* is available for use with this teacher's guide. This series includes three titles which are appropriate for use with this section on the Final Solution:
 - "Ghetto Life" (19 minutes)
 - "Deportation" (20 minutes)
 - "Final Solution" (19 minutes)

The videotape *Witness to the Holocaust: Ghetto Life* should be viewed as students study about Nazi ghettoization in eastern Europe. Before presenting this videotape, provide students with the following information:

The Nazis created ghettos in occupied Poland in 1940-41 as concentration centers in which Jews were iso-

lated, systematically starved and dehumanized. These ghettos were the staging areas from which those Jews who survived starvation and disease were sent to death camps.

Then ask students to define the word "ghetto," focusing on the physical constraints and behaviors exhibited by ghetto residents. Have students compare the ghettos established by the Nazis with ghettos that exist today. As students watch the videotape, they should list the characteristics of Nazi-imposed ghettos. After the viewing, ask students the following questions:

- Why did the Nazis create ghettos in occupied Poland?
- How did Jews respond to conditions in the Warsaw Ghetto?
- What would you have done?
- How would you compare the Nazi-created ghettos with those in our society?

- The "Lebensborn" program, a further extension of Nazi racial thinking, is briefly described in Handout D-5. A more detailed report is included in Handout D-6 (Documents G and H), a dispatch from London to the United States Secretary of State, dated August 10, 1943.

After studying Handout D-5 and Documents G and H in Handout D-6, ask students to prepare responses to the following questions:

- What was the purpose of the "Lebensborn" program?
- How did the program operate?
- How did this program reflect Nazi racial thought (refer also to Unit III. B)?
- What did the "Lebensborn" program suggest about Nazi anti-Slavic policies in Poland?

- The materials included in Handout D-6 represent a sample of the diplomatic correspon-

dence received or sent by the United States Department of State during the period from February 1940 to August 1943. These messages detail the Nazi ghettoization, deportation, and extermination of European Jews as well as the Nazi extermination measures in occupied Poland and other eastern European nations. Students should use the chronology provided in Handout D-1.1 to put these messages into historical perspective.

Documents (in chronological order) included in Handout D-6:

Document A – Telegrams received (dated February 16, 1940) dealing with the deportations of European Jews to Nazi-occupied Poland

Document B – Telegram received (dated October 10, 1941) describing deportation of Jews from Berlin to ghetto of Lodz

Document C – Telegram received (dated October 27, 1941) describing deportation of Berlin Jews to Nazi-occupied Poland

Document D – Telegram received (dated November 16, 1941) detailing Nazi anti-Semitic thought and describing deportation and extermination of European Jews

Document E – Telegram received (dated July 16, 1942) transmitting information from the Polish Legation staff concerning the extermination of Jews by the Nazis in eastern Europe

Document F – Memorandum received (dated August 26, 1942) concerning reliable evidence that the Nazis planned to exterminate all European Jews. Document F includes the important telegram sent to Dr. Stephen Wise, President of the American Jewish Congress, by Gerhart Riegner, Secretary of the World Jewish Congress

Document G – Letter (dated August 10, 1943) sent by Ambassador Anthony J. Bid-

dle to United States Secretary of State Hull concerning Nazi plans to exterminate Poles

Document H – Telegram sent by Secretary of State Hull to United States Embassy in Moscow (dated August 27, 1943) describing U.S. and British declaration to punish Nazis responsible for exterminating Polish citizens

These documents supplement the readings included in this section on "The Final Solution" and should be used to discuss Nazi plans to exterminate all European Jews and those people considered "untermenschen," including Poles and Slavs of Eastern Europe. Ask students to study each telegram and to prepare a brief summary of its contents. Have students describe the historical context in which the telegram or message was written. Students should file these diplomatic messages for use with Unit III. E and F.

- The videotape *Witness to the Holocaust: Deportation* should be viewed in conjunction with Handout D-6. Introduce this videotape with the following information:

It would be much easier for all of us to understand the Nazi Holocaust if we could determine that the leading Nazis were insane individuals or people of extremely low intelligence. The facts prove otherwise. Well educated and highly respected Nazis, many holding the Ph.D., a medical degree or a law degree, were instrumental in planning and implementing the Final Solution. These Nazis employed sophisticated psychological techniques and technological methods in developing techniques of persuasion and deception. The Nazis also used eu-

phemistic language to deceive their victims.

After the viewing, ask students the following questions:

- How do we know that the Nazi mass murder of European Jews, Poles, Gypsies, and others was carefully planned?
- How did the Nazis convince women and children to board the trains for "resettlement"?
- Why was it so difficult for most Jews to understand fully Nazi intentions before it was too late?
- Why might a group of people targeted for destruction today be more able to defend itself because of what we have learned about the Nazi methods of deception?

As a concluding activity for this lesson on deportation, you might ask students to complete the following task.

Setting:

You are a young Jewish furrier living in Austria with your brother in 1939. Both of you have been notified that you have 24 hours in which to report to the local train station. The officials inform you that since you will join a work brigade at a camp in Poland, you will be supplied with all essentials such as uniforms, shoes, bedding, etc. Therefore, they insist you are to take only one small bundle with you. Your brother, who does not believe the Nazi promises, is skeptical about the decency of the conditions to be found at the camp. You, however, a more trusting person, believe conditions will be decent.

Task:

Describe the contents of each man's bundle. Include a brief reference next to each item to indicate how the item might be essential.

- Handouts D-7.1 and D-7.2 focus on the Nazi plans for eastern Europe, specifically Poland, as part of the Final Solution. These handouts also describe the "Germanization" program, which involved kidnapping Polish children and sending them to children's homes for re-education and eventual adoption by "racially-pure" Aryan families. As students study the materials in Handouts D-7.1 and D-7.2, have them consider the following questions:

- What were the stages of the Nazi plans for eastern Europe? How did these plans fit into their Final Solution to the Jewish "problem"?
- Why were Poles deported and resettled? What was meant by "Lebensraum"?
- What was meant by "Germanization"?
- How did the Nazis change the Polish educational system to meet their needs?
- How does the author explain the Nazi "Policy of Extermination" in eastern Europe?
- What were Himmler's instructions for Polish children in terms of the Nazi Germanization Plan?

Have students refer back to Unit I, "Prejudicial Attitudes" and Unit III. B, "Nazi Thought," to explain the Nazis' plans for enslavement and extermination of the people of eastern Europe, specifically Poland. Be sure that students compare the *thinking* expressed in Handouts B-3.1 and B-3.2 (Unit III), "Nazi Anti-Slavic Thought," with the *actions* described in Handouts D-7.1 and D-7.2. For a more complete investigation of the Nazi Germanization program, also called the Lebensborn (Fountain of Life) organization, have students read *Of Pure Blood*, by Marc Hillel and Clarissa Henry (New York: McGraw Hill, 1976).

- Handout D-8.1 is taken from *Story of a Secret State*, written by Jan Karski, a member of the Polish Underground, during World War II. In

this handout, Karski describes his mission to deliver important information about conditions in Nazi-occupied Poland to the Allies and to the Polish government in exile in London. Karski's report further details the Nazis' plans for the Final Solution and for the enslavement of eastern Europe. Handout D-8.2 describes the death penalty imposed for those Poles caught aiding or assisting Jews. After students have read Handouts D-8.1 and D-8.2, ask them to prepare a brief oral report which outlines the living conditions in eastern Europe during the Nazi occupation. Have students explain how the Nazis' plans to exterminate all Jews in eastern Europe influenced the restrictions imposed on all people living there.

- With the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 came the deployment of the Nazi Einsatzgruppen or mobile killing squads. These squads followed the invading Nazi army and killed as many Jews as possible on the spot. The Einsatz units had been used in 1939 in Poland to round up all Jews and to place them in ghettos. In the Soviet Union, they initiated their role in the Nazi Final Solution, the extermination of all Jews and Soviet political commissars. As was the case in Poland, the Nazis sought to "liquidate" the aristocracy, intelligentsia and the leadership in eastern Europe to ensure that no form of resistance or culture would survive. In September 1941 Einsatz commandos murdered 33,771 people, mostly Jews, in Kiev, capital of Ukraine, in just two days.

Handout D-9 describes an example of the Einsatzgruppen killings in Ukraine. Document E in Handout D-6 also describes Einsatzgruppen activities in eastern Europe. Have students read the material included in Handout D-9 and summarize the role the Einsatzgruppen played in the Final Solution.

- Distribute Handout D-10 and have students study the map. There should be some reaction to the number of camps. Point out that most of these camps had satellite camps around them.

Students should be made aware of the fact that not all camps were the same. By the end of the War there were over 100 camps located in Germany and in Nazi-occupied Poland. The camps created in the mid-1930s were mainly internment camps designed to hold various individuals: Communists, cripples, homosexuals, clergymen, Jews and political dissidents whom the Nazi regime regarded as undesirable. After 1939, camps were used mainly for forced labor where thousands of Jews and other prisoners died of starvation, exposure, etc. After 1941, when the Nazis adopted their Final Solution to the Jewish question, six camps were designated as extermination or death camps.

- Have students identify the six death camps:
 - Where were these camps located?
 - Which camp was the largest?
 - What groups were murdered in these camps?

- Now have students add the following cities to Handout D-10:

- Munich • Poznan • Chelmo
- Warsaw • Krakow • Dresden
- Hanover

- Ask students to react to the following questions:

- How many people must have been involved in transporting victims to the various camps?
- Considering the location of these camps, how secret do you think they were?

- To what extent do you feel the Nazis themselves were the only ones involved with the camps and their intent?
- Who benefited from the labor camps?
- What was the climate of public opinion in those nations where camps were located?
- The materials included in Handouts D-11, D-12.1, D-12.2, D-12.3, D-12.4, and D-12.5 focus on the details of the Final Solution and conditions which existed in three camps: Dachau, Auschwitz, and Treblinka. Have students study these materials in order to put daily camp life into perspective. The outline maps of Dachau and Auschwitz should also help students to understand what the physical conditions were like for those prisoners who survived selection. You might ask students to complete more in-depth research assignments on the concentration camps (death camps) and slave labor camps of the Third Reich. Students might consult the following sources for more comprehensive information.

Dachau: Michael Selzer. *Deliverance Day: The Last Hours at Dachau* (New York: Lippincott, 1978).

Auschwitz: Primo Levi. *Survival in Auschwitz: The Nazi Assault on Humanity* (New York: Collier, 1961).

Auschwitz: Isabella Leitner. *Fragments of Isabella: A Memoir of Auschwitz* (New York: Crowell, 1978).

Auschwitz: Phillip Muller. *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979).

Treblinka: Alexander Donat, editor. *The Death Camp Treblinka: A Documentary* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1980).

Ravensbruck: Germaine Tilion. *Ravensbruck: An Eyewitness Account of a Women's Concentration Camp* (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1975).

The videotape *Witness to the Holocaust: Final Solution* should be viewed as students study about the details of the Nazi extermination process.

Before showing the video cassette, you might ask students to write a brief description of hell as it is described in our popular western culture. Provide students with a little more detail on the nature of the seven circles of hell as described in Dante's *Inferno*. Students should be instructed to list the prominent features of Nazi concentration camps while they watch the video program. They should be told that a comparison between popular conceptions of hell and the Nazi death camps will follow.

After the viewing, ask students the following questions:

- Why are Nazi death camps compared with hell?
- At the entrance to Dante's hell is the warning "Relinquish All Hope, Ye Who Enter Here." Were such warnings present for those who arrived at the Nazi camps?
- How do some survivors explain their survival in the Nazi death camps?
- How would you compare the Nazi death camps, existent only 40 years ago, with the popular idea of hell?
- Why should we be aware of their existence?

- Handout D-12.6 contains a selection about gassing at the camps from a novel, *The Last of the Just* by Andre Schwarz-Bart and also an eyewitness account of the death camp at Belzec by Kurt Gerstein, an engineer working for the SS. Either article may be used separately for descriptive purposes or both could be assigned.

If assigned together the following questions/activities could be used:

- Have students read the article from *The Last of the Just* in class. Then have them put the article aside and write an account of what they just read, including their personal reactions. Discuss their observations and ask:

Because *The Last of the Just* is a novel, how might some people react to this description?

- Have students read the Gerstein testimony and discuss the differences between the two readings. Ask them:

- Have their reactions changed?
- Which account is more powerful?
- What do they think the last paragraph of *The Last of the Just* selection means?

- Have students examine Handout D-13.1 and answer the following questions:

- In 1939, which European nation had the largest Jewish population?
- Why did most Jews settle in this European nation?
- What happened to the Jews of Poland?
- What happened to such towns as Pinsk, Vilna, Lida, and Stanislaw (Stanislawow)?

- Have students use Handout D-13.2 to prepare responses to the following questions:

- Why did the Nazis develop such highly organized propaganda around the Theresienstadt ghetto?

– How did the reality differ from the facade?

- Handout D-14 displays the extent of the destruction of Europe's Jews. Ask students to compare the pre-World War II Jewish populations with the number of Jews killed as a result of the Final Solution. Have students compare this map with the graphs and maps which indicate victims of the Nazi Holocaust included in Unit III. E, "Perpetrators and Victims."

- A number of films can also be used to supplement the readings in this section. The following list serves as a sample of the best films; for other recommended films consult: Annette Insdorf, *Indelible Shadows: Film and The Holocaust* New York: Random House, 1983); and *The Holocaust in Books and Films: A Selected, Annotated List* (New York: Center for Studies on the Holocaust, Anti-Defamation League of

B'nai B'rith).

Films: "Night and Fog" (31 minutes, color, French with English subtitles, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith).
"Genocide" (52 minutes, color, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith).
"Ambulance" (15 minutes, black and white, Alden Films, Brooklyn, NY).

HANDOUT D-1.1

THE HOLOCAUST: 1933-1945 A CHRONOLOGY

1933	
January 30:	President Hindenburg appoints Adolf Hitler as Reich Chancellor (Prime Minister) of the German Republic
March 23:	First concentration camp, Dachau, is established. Enabling Act passed by German Reichstag surrendering its power to Hitler and his cabinet.
April 1:	Nazis proclaim a general boycott of all Jewish-owned businesses
April 7:	Jews dismissed from civil service and denied admission to the bar
April 26:	Formation of the Gestapo
May 2:	Dissolution of free trade unions
May 10:	Burning of books of Jews and opponents of Nazism
December 1:	Hitler declares legal unity of the German State and Nazi Party

Chronology adapted from: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. *The Holocaust: 1933-1945, A Chronology in Social Education*, 1978, p. 265. Reprinted by permission of Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

1934	
August 2:	Death of Hindenburg. Hitler becomes Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces

1935	
Summer:	Juden Verboten (No Jews) signs increase in number outside towns, villages, restaurants and stores
September 15:	Reichstag passes anti-Semitic "Nuremberg Laws"
1936	
October 25:	Hitler and Mussolini form Rome-Berlin Axis
November 25:	Germany and Japan sign military pact

1937	
July 16:	Buchenwald concentration camp opens
1938	
March 13:	Annexation of Austria to the Third Reich. Nazis apply anti-Semitic laws
July 6:	International conference at Evian, France, fails to provide refuge for German Jews
September 29:	Munich Agreement: Britain and France accept German annexation of Sudetenland, part of Czechoslovakia
October 5:	Passports of Jews are marked with the letter "J"

November 7:	Herschel Grynszpan, whose parents were deported from Germany to Poland, assassinates Ernst vom Rath, Third Secretary of the German Embassy in Paris
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November 9:	Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass), anti-Semitic riots in Germany and Austria, synagogues are destroyed, shops are looted
November 12:	26,000 Jews are arrested and sent to concentration camps
November 15:	Jewish children are expelled from German schools
December 13:	Decree on "Aryanization" (compulsory expropriation of Jewish industries, businesses and shops) is enacted

1939	
March 15:	Germans occupy Czechoslovakia
July 26:	Adolf Eichmann is placed in charge of Prague branch of the emigration office
August 23:	Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact
September 1:	German Army invades Poland. Beginning of World War II and Nazi campaign to destroy Poland as a national entity
September 3:	Britain and France declare war on Germany
September 17:	Soviet invasion/occupation of Eastern Poland

HANDOUT D-1.1 (cont.)

October 12:	First deportation of Jews from Austria and Moravia to Nazi-occupied Poland	November 15:	Nazis seal off Warsaw Ghetto	December 22:	Massacre in Vilna — 32,000 Jews killed
November 23:	Wearing of Judenstern (Jewish six-pointed Star of David) is made compulsory throughout occupied Poland	1941		1942	
1940		June 22:	Germans attack the Soviet Union	January 20:	Wannsee Conference on Nazi "Final Solution of the Jewish Question"
April:	Mass murder of over 15,000 Polish army officers, scientists, and academics by Soviet N.K.V.D. forces in the Katyn Forest west of Smolensk, U.S.S.R.	July 8:	Wearing of the Jewish star is decreed in the German-occupied Baltic states	January 21:	Unified resistance organization is established in Vilna Ghetto. Jewish resistance groups expand in number throughout Eastern Europe.
April 9:	Germans invade Denmark and Norway	July 31:	Heydrich is appointed by Goering to carry out "The Final Solution" (extermination of all Jews in Europe)	March 1:	Exterminations begin at Sobibor
April 30:	Nazis seal off ghetto at Lodz, Poland	September 15:	Wearing of the Jewish star is decreed throughout the Greater Reich	March 17:	Belzec death camp is opened in German-occupied Poland
May 10:	Germans invade Holland, Belgium and France	September 23:	First experiments with gassing are made at Auschwitz	Summer:	Jews deported from France
June 4:	British Army evacuates its forces from Dunkirk, France	September 29-30:	Massacre at Babi Yar (Kiev) — 34,000 Jews killed	June 1:	Treblinka death camp opens. Wearing of the Jewish star is decreed in Nazi-occupied France and Holland.
June 14:	728 Polish political prisoners arrive at Auschwitz, first German concentration camp in Nazi-occupied Poland	October 10:	Theresienstadt Ghetto in Czechoslovakia is established	July 22:	Deportation of 300,000 Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto to Nazi death camp at Treblinka begins. Deportations continue until September 6, 1942.
June 22:	France surrenders to the Germans	October 14:	Deportation of German Jews begins	July 28:	Jewish resistance organization is established in the Warsaw Ghetto
September 27:	Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis is established	October 23:	Massacre in Odessa — 34,000 Jews killed	December 4:	Polish committee for the Assistance to Jews, code name, "ZEGOTA," was established in Warsaw
October:	Majdanek concentration camp established in Nazi-occupied Poland. It became an annihilation camp in 1942.	November 6:	Massacre in Rovno — 15,000 Jews killed	December 17:	Allied nations pledge to punish Germans for their policy of genocide
		December 7:	Japanese attack Pearl Harbor		
		December 8:	United States enters the war		
		December 8:	Chelmo extermination camp on the Ner River in Nazi-occupied Poland is opened		
		December 8:	Massacre in Riga — 27,000 Jews killed		

HANDOUT D-1.1 (cont.)

1943

- January 18:** Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto launch uprising against Nazi deportations
- February 2:** German Sixth Army surrenders at Stalingrad. This marks the turning point of the war
- April 13:** German field police discovered bodies of Polish officers murdered in the Katyn Forest
- April 19:** Revolt of Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto begins. Fighting continues for weeks
- May 16:** Nazis order liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto
- June 11:** Himmler orders liquidation of all Polish Jewish ghettos
- June-September:** Hundreds of Jewish partisans leave the Vilna Ghetto for the forest, where they continue their resistance to the Nazis
- August 2:** Revolt at Treblinka death camp
- August 16:** Revolt in Bialystok Ghetto
- September 23:** Liquidation of the Vilna Ghetto
- October 20:** United Nations War Crimes Commission is established

1944

- May 15-June 8:** 476,000 Jews are deported from Hungary to Auschwitz
- June 4:** Allies in Rome
- June 6:** D-Day. Allied invasion of Nazi-occupied Western Europe begins in Normandy, France
- July 24:** Soviet troops liberate Majdanek Death Camp
- August 1:** Polish Home Army begins Warsaw Uprising against German occupiers
- August 25:** Paris is liberated by Allied armies
- October 2:** Warsaw Uprising crushed. Nazis raze Warsaw, leaving 200,000 Polish casualties.
- November 24:** Himmler orders destruction of Auschwitz crematoria as Nazis try to hide evidence of their death camps

1945

- January 17:** Soviet troops enter Warsaw
- January 27:** Soviet troops liberate Auschwitz-Birkenau
- February 4-11:** Yalta Conference in the Crimea
- March 5:** American troops reach the Rhine River

April 11:

American troops liberate Buchenwald concentration camp

April 15:

British troops liberate Bergen-Belsen concentration camp

April 25:

American and Soviet troops meet at the Elbe River

April 29:

American troops liberate Dachau

April 30:

Hitler commits suicide

May 8:

Germany surrenders unconditionally. End of the war in Europe

September 2:

Japan surrenders unconditionally. End of World War II

November 22:

Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal commences

The Nuremberg Trials concluded on October 1, 1946, which happened to be the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), with a judgment in which twelve defendants were sentenced to death, three to life imprisonment, and four to various prison terms; three were acquitted.

HANDOUT D-1.2

HOLOCAUST

Raul Hilberg

The Occupation of Poland. When war began in September 1939, the German army occupied the western half of Poland and thereby added almost 2 million Jews to the German power sphere. Restrictions placed on Polish Jewry were much harsher than those in Germany. The Polish Jews were forced to move into ghettos surrounded by walls and barbed wire. The ghettos were like captive city-states. Each ghetto had a Jewish council that was responsible for housing, sanitation, and production. Food and coal were to be shipped in and manufactured products sent out. The food supply allowed by the Germans, however, consisted mainly of grains and such vegetables as turnips, carrots, and beets. In the Warsaw ghetto, the official ration provided barely 1200 calories to each inhabitant. Some black-market food, smuggled into the ghettos, was sold at high prices, but unemployment and poverty were widespread. Congestion reached six or seven persons per room, and typhus was common. The death rate rose to 1 percent a month.

Invasion of the USSR. At the time of ghettoization in Poland, a drastic undertaking was launched farther in the east. In June 1941, German armies invaded the Soviet Union, and at the same time an agency of the SS and police, the Reich Security Main Office, dispatched 3000 men in special units to newly occupied Soviet territories to kill all Jews on the spot. These mobile detachments, known as **Einsatzgruppen** ("action

squads"), were soon engaged in incessant shootings. The massacres usually took place in ditches or ravines near cities and towns. Occasionally, they were witnessed by soldiers or local residents. Before long, rumors of the killings were heard in several capitals of the world.

The "Final Solution." A month after the beginning of mobile operations in the occupied USSR, the second in command of Nazi Germany, Hermann Goering, sent a directive to the chief of the Reich Security Main Office, Reinhard Heydrich (1904-42), charging him with the task of organizing a "final solution to the Jewish question" in all of German-dominated Europe. By September 1941, the Jews of Germany were marked with a yellow star, and tens of thousands were deported during the following months to ghettos in Poland and to cities wrested from the USSR. Even as that movement was under way, the stage was set for another innovation: the death camp.

Camps equipped with facilities for gassing people were being erected on the soil of occupied Poland. Most prospective victims were to be deported to these killing centers from ghettos nearby. From the Warsaw ghetto alone, more than 300,000 were removed. The first transports were usually filled with women, children, or older men, who could not work; Jews capable of labor were being retained in shops or plants, but they too were to be killed in the end. The heaviest deportations occurred in the summer and fall of 1942. The destinations of the transports were not disclosed to the Jewish communities, but reports of mass deaths eventually reached the surviving Jews, as well as the governments of the U.S. and Great Britain. In April 1943, the 65,000 remaining Jews of Warsaw offered resistance to German police that entered the ghetto in a final roundup. The battle was fought for three weeks.

Deportations. Throughout Europe, the deportations generated a host of political and administra-

tive problems. In Germany itself, extensive discussions were held about the **Mischlinge** (half-Jews), and eventually they were exempted. In countries allied with Germany, such as the satellite states of Slovakia, Croatia, and Vichy France, diplomatic negotiations were conducted to bring about deportations. The Italian Fascist government refused to cooperate with Nazi Germany until after Italy was occupied by German forces in September 1943, and the Hungarian government was similarly reluctant to give up its Jews until after German troops entered Hungary in March 1944. Although the Romanian government had been responsible for several large-scale massacres of Jews in the occupied USSR, Romania also declined to deliver its Jews to the Germans. In occupied Denmark, Danes from all walks of life resolved to save their Jews from certain death, ferrying thousands of them in small boats to neutral Sweden.

Wherever possible, the Germans collected the belongings of the deportees. In Germany, bank accounts and the contents of apartments were confiscated, and from occupied France, Belgium, and Holland furniture was shipped to Germany for distribution to bombed-out persons.

Transportation of victims to the death camps was generally by rail, and the police had to pay the German state railways a one-way third-class passenger fare for each deportee. Inasmuch as 1000 persons were loaded on a train, a group rate that was half the normal tariff was allowed. The trains, consisting of freight cars, moved slowly on special schedules to their destinations. Often, the sick and the elderly died en route.

The death camps. The arrival points in Poland were Kulmhof (Chelmno), Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, Lublin (Maydanek), and Auschwitz (Oswiecim). Kulmhof, northwest of the Lodz ghetto, was supplied with gas vans, and its toll was 150,000. Belzec had carbon monoxide gas

Taken from: "Holocaust." *Funk and Wagnalls New Encyclopedia*, Vol. 13, pp. 159-161. Excerpted from the article "Holocaust" by Raul Hilberg, Ph.D., in *Funk & Wagnalls New Encyclopedia* (c) 1983; reprinted with permission of Funk & Wagnalls, Inc., New York, NY.

HANDOUT D-1.2 (cont.)

chambers in which 600,000 Jews, mostly from the populous Galician area, were killed. Sobibor's gas chambers accounted for 250,000 dead and Treblinka's for 700,000 to 800,000. At Lublin, some 50,000 were gassed or shot; in Auschwitz, the Jewish dead totaled more than 1 million.

Auschwitz, near Krakow, was the largest death camp. Unlike the others, it utilized quick-

working hydrogen cyanide for the gassings. The victims of Auschwitz came from all Europe: Norway, France, the Low Countries, Italy, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Greece. A large inmate population, Jewish and non-Jewish, was employed by industry; some prisoners were subjected to medical experiments, particularly sterilizations. Although only Jews and Gypsies were gassed routinely, several

hundred thousand other Auschwitz inmates died from starvation, disease, or shooting. To erase the traces of destruction, large crematories were constructed so that the bodies of the gassed could be incinerated. In 1944 the camp was photographed by Allied reconnaissance aircraft in search of industrial targets; its factories, but not its gas chambers, were bombed.

HANDOUT D-2.1

THE NUREMBERG LAWS

Nora Levin

The first frontal attack on all individual Jews in Germany came in September 1935, with the passage of the Nuremberg Laws. Up to this time some Jews were persecuted, hounded and beaten up. These excesses were officially deprecated, but they were also excused as the "irrepressible" reaction of Germans to years of alien — that is, Jewish — domination. In the new Germany, the Nazis said, there would be no excuse for illegality. The natural feelings of the people would be given "legal" expression. The boycott of April 1 and the book burnings were thus "legal." For two years the Nazis cultivated this policy, with careful attention to outside reactions. By 1935, the Nazis became bolder and felt convinced that no international action threatened them. The Nuremberg Laws were the result. These measures reduced the entire Jewish population of Germany to twentieth century helots.

The Nazi bureaucrats in the Interior Ministry had brooded over these laws for some time. The

stumbling block was the problem of how to define a Jew. This was exactly the problem that had blocked the anti-Semitic members of the Reichstag in the 1890's from proposing an anti-Semitic law. Who is a Jew? In the Nuremberg Laws the Jew was defined negatively as someone ineligible for German citizenship. The law provided that only persons of "German or related blood" could be citizens, and that citizenship was acquired by a grant of a certificate of citizenship. This was called the "Law Respecting Reich Citizenship of September 15, 1935." Jews were thus robbed of their citizenship and became *Staatsangehorige*, subjects belonging to the state. The second law, the "Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor" of the same date forbade marriage and sexual relations between Jews and Germans and imposed heavy penalties for transgressions. Jews were also forbidden to employ German female servants under forty-five years of age and were forbidden to display the German flag. Thirteen supplementary decrees which followed delineate the whole course of Hitler's anti-Jewish war down to the last decree, which was published July 1, 1943, when the Reich was theoretically purged of Jews.

The pretext for the Nuremberg Laws was Hitler's anger at an organized Jewish protest against a film being shown in Berlin. After the laws were passed, Hitler said that now the Jews could lead their own lives as they could in no other country. In a conversation on September 23, 1935, be-

tween Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Acting Minister of Economics, and a representative of President Roosevelt, S.R. Fuller, at the American Embassy in Berlin, Schacht interpreted the Nuremberg Laws for the American representative. He first pointed out the "international character" of Jews and Roman Catholics which constituted a domestic problem in many countries insufficiently understood elsewhere. When Fuller questioned him closely about the poor treatment of the Jews under the Nuremberg Laws, Schacht said: "I never was in favor of our treatment of the Jews, but the new laws announced at Nurnberg give protection to the Jews. They are now guaranteed the same rights as any other minority within Germany, such as the Poles, for instance." He further explained that they could engage in their businesses with government protection.¹⁰ This was a typical Nazi rationalization.

The Nuremberg Laws were a triumph for the extremists among the Nazis and marked a sharp progression toward an irreversible anti-Jewish policy. No Jew could thereafter escape the sweeping dragnet of intensified persecution. As the definition of Jew was elaborated, the victim became a helpless target for whatever seized the Nazi mind. The Jews of Germany withered under these new blows but did not dream that they were a mere prelude to destruction.

¹⁰Excerpt of affidavit of S.R. Fuller, October 18, 1945, giving account of a conversation with Schacht, Sept. 23, 1935, EC-450.

Taken from: Pp. 68-69, 667-668 in *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry 1933-1945* by Nora Levin (Thomas Y. Crowell Co.). Copyright (c) 1968 by Nora Levin. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc. All rights reserved. This material may not be reproduced without the written permission of Harper & Row.

HANDOUT D-2.2

THE JEWS DEFINED

Raul Hilberg

Not until 1935 did the German bureaucracy come up with a definition of the term "Jew." The occasion was the issuance of a Reich Citizenship Law (one of the "Nuremberg Laws") which had declared that Jews could not be citizens. The First Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law established a method to determine who was a Jew and also provided for the dismissal of all the remaining "non-Aryan" officials who were Jews within the scope of the new definition.

It is to be noted that while heretofore the population had been divided only into "Aryans" and "non-Aryans," there were now two kinds of non-Aryans: Jews and so-called **Mischlinge**. Half-Jews who did not belong to the Jewish religion or who were not married to a Jewish person on September 15, 1935, were to be called **Mischlinge** of the first degree. One-quarter Jews became **Mischlinge** of the second degree. The fate of the **Mischlinge** was never settled to the complete satisfaction of the Nazi party, and they were the subject of considerable discussion during the "final solution" conferences of 1941 and 1942.

Throughout the twelve years of Nazi rule, records establishing descent or religious adherence were all-important in deciding who was a Jew, a **Mischling**, or a German. An illustration of a case involving records is appended to the text of the definition decree. Reference in the correspondence of this case is made to the wearing of the Jewish Star. The Yellow Star of David had to be worn by Jews after September 14, 1941. **Mischlinge** did not have to wear it.

Taken from: Raul Hilberg. *Documents of Destruction* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), pp. 18-21. Used by permission of Raul Hilberg.

(Reichsgesetzblatt (Reich Legal Gazette) 1935, I, 1333.)

FIRST ORDINANCE TO THE REICH CITIZENSHIP LAW NOVEMBER 14, 1935

On the basis of article 3 of the Reich Citizenship Law of September 15, 1935 (**Reich Legal Gazette** I, 1146) the following is ordered:

Article 1

1. Until the issuance of further regulations for the award of citizenship, nationals of German or related blood who possessed the right to vote in Reichstag elections at the time when the Reich Citizenship Law entered into force or who were granted provisional citizenship by the Reich Minister of Interior acting in agreement with the Deputy of the Fuhrer, are provisionally considered Reich citizens.

2. The Reich Minister of Interior acting in agreement with the Deputy of the Fuhrer may revoke provisional citizenship.

Article 2

1. The regulations of Article 1 apply also to nationals who were part Jews (**judische Mischlinge**).

2. Partly Jewish is anyone who is descended from one or two grandparents who are fully Jewish (**volljudisch**) by race, in so far as he is not to be considered as Jewish under article 5, section 2. A grandparent is to be considered as fully Jewish if he belonged to the Jewish religious community.

Article 3

Only a Reich citizen as bearer of complete political rights may exercise the right to vote in political affairs or hold public office. The Reich Minister of Interior or an agency empowered by him

may make exceptions with regard to an admission to public office during the transition. The affairs of religious communities will not be affected.

Article 4

1. A Jew cannot be a Reich citizen. He is not allowed the right to vote in political affairs; he cannot hold public office.

2. Jewish civil servants will retire as of December 31, 1935. If these civil servants fought for Germany or her allies in the World War, they will receive the full pension to which they are entitled by their last position in the pay scale, until they reach retirement age; they will not, however, advance in seniority. Upon reaching retirement age their pension is to be based on pay scales which will prevail at that time.

3. The affairs of religious communities will not be affected.

4. The provisions of service for teachers in Jewish public schools will remain unaltered until new regulations are issued for the Jewish school system.

Article 5

1. Jew is he who is descended from at least three grandparents who are fully Jewish by race. Article 2, paragraph 2, sentence 2 applies.

2. Also to be considered a Jew is a partly Jewish national who is descended from two fully Jewish grandparents and

a) who belonged to the Jewish religious community, upon adoption of the (Reich Citizenship) Law, or is received into the community thereafter, or

b) who was married to a Jewish person upon adoption of the law, or marries one thereafter, or

HANDOUT D-1.2 (cont.)

- c) who is the offspring of a marriage concluded by a Jew (as defined in paragraph 1) after the entry into force of the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor of September 15, 1935 (**Reich Legal Gazette I, 1146**), or
- d) who is the offspring of an extramarital relationship involving a Jew (as defined in paragraph 1) and who is born out of wedlock after July 31, 1936.

Article 6

1. Requirements for purity of blood exceeding those of article 5, which are made in Reich laws or

regulations of the National Socialist German Workers' Party and its organizations, remain unaffected.

2. Any other requirements for purity of blood, exceeding those of article 4, may be made only with the consent of the Reich Minister of the Interior and the Deputy of the Fuhrer. Insofar as requirements of this type exist already, they become void on January 1, 1936 unless they are accepted by the Reich Minister of the Interior acting with the agreement of the Deputy of the Fuhrer. Acceptance is to be requested from the Reich Minister of the Interior.

Article 7

The Fuhrer and Reich Chancellor may grant exemptions from the stipulations of implementary ordinances.

Berlin, November 14, 1935
The Fuhrer and Reich Chancellor
Adolf Hitler
The Reich Minister of the Interior
Frick
The Deputy of the Fuhrer
R. Hess
(Reich Minister without Portfolio)

(Israel Police document 1107.)

Gestapo Office in Dusseldorf/Section II B 4 to
Reich Security Main Office IV B 4, Berlin, October, 1942.

HANDOUT D-2.3

NUREMBERG LAW FOR THE PROTECTION OF GERMAN BLOOD AND GERMAN HONOR, SEPTEMBER 15, 1935

Law for the Protection of German Blood
and German Honor
September 15, 1935

Moved by the understanding that purity of the German Blood is the essential condition for the continued existence of the German people, and inspired by the inflexible determination to ensure the existence of the German Nation for all time, the Reichstag has unanimously adopted the following Law, which is promulgated herewith:

#1

1) Marriages between Jews and subjects of the state of German or related blood are forbidden. Marriages nevertheless concluded are invalid, even if concluded abroad to circumvent this law.

Taken from: Yad Vashem. *Documents on the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem in cooperation with ADL and Ktav Publishing House, 1981), pp. 78-79. Used by permission of Yad Vashem.

2) Annulment proceedings can be initiated only by the State Prosecutor.

#2

Extramarital intercourse between Jews and subjects of the state of German or related blood is forbidden.

#3

Jews may not employ in their households female subjects of the state of German or related blood who are under 45 years old.

#4

1) Jews are forbidden to fly the Reich or National flag or to display the Reich colors.

2) They are, on the other hand, permitted to display the Jewish colors. The exercise of this right is protected by the State.

#5

1) Any person who violates the prohibition under #1 will be punished by a prison sentence with hard labor.

2) A male who violates the prohibition under #2 will be punished with a prison sentence with or without hard labor.

3) Any person violating the provisions under #3 or #4 will be punished with a prison sentence of

up to one year and a fine, or with one or the other of these penalties.

#6

The Reich Minister of the Interior, in coordination with the Deputy of the Fuhrer and the Reich Minister of Justice, will issue the Legal and Administrative regulations required to implement and complete this Law.

#7

The Law takes effect on the day following promulgations except for #3, which goes into force on January 1, 1936.

Nuremberg, September 15, 1935
at the Reich Party Congress of Freedom

The Fuhrer and Reich Chancellor
Adolf Hitler

The Reich Minister of the Interior
Frick

The Reich Minister of Justice
Dr. Gurtner

The Deputy of the Fuhrer
R. Hess

Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 1935, pp. 1146-1147.

HANDOUT D-2.4

CRYSTAL NIGHT

Rita Thalmann
Emmanuel Feinermann

The pogrom of November 1938 had all the features of a classical tragedy, even a poetic name, 'Crystal Night,' given it later by the Nazis because of the tons of shattered glass that strewn the German cities after it had taken place. Greater Germany (Germany, Austria and the Sudeten territories) provided the unity of place; there was unity of time – the action occurred on the night of November 9th; and there was unity of action in the terrorization and indiscriminate persecution of the Jews, designed to force them to leave their country and their possessions.

It was a tragedy in five acts whose chronology is a schematic resume of the Jews' fate under the National Socialist government.

After 1933, when the Nazis took power, terror against the Jews in Germany progressively escalated. Unlike other groups persecuted by the regime, the Jews could not withdraw into silence or hiding, because no matter how they behaved, their 'racial identity' condemned them to public vengeance. First their shops were boycotted and their jobs and civil rights were removed. Then they were made to declare the value of their possessions. They were bullied by the civil service and the police and often arrested and forced to

sell their property for a pittance. The climax was reached with the assassination of the Third Secretary at the German embassy in Paris by a seventeen-year-old Jew, Herschel Grynszpan, who wanted to avenge his parents' expulsion, together with fifteen thousand other Polish Jews, from Germany to the limbo of Zborszyn. This assassination furnished the Nazis with the ideal pretext for a manhunt.

The night of November 9th-10th, 1938, the 'Crystal Night,' was organized by the Nazi chiefs and their thugs with technical skill and precision. It marked the beginning of the plan, to rob the Jews of their possessions for the benefit of the Reich, and then to sweep them for ever from the German scene. At this date the 'final solution' had not yet been suggested, but Goering's and Goebbels' pronouncements left no doubt as to what the fate of the German Jews would be if other countries refused them entry or if war broke out.

The outside world was apprised of events in Germany, particularly the Great Powers – Soviet Russia, the United States, Great Britain and France – but merely protesting more or less vigorously without lifting a finger to organize the massive rescue which would be needed while there was still time.

Then the war broke out. Its toll in lives and suffering was the consequence of the weakness not to say cowardice which permitted Hitler to reinforce his power and to endow Germany's arsenals with unprecedented strength. When the regime finally fell, the conquerors learned with astonishment the magnitude of the Nazi crimes. The Nazi leaders were brought before a tribunal at Nuremberg. But no one judged the other

crime, of which the larger part of the so-called civilized world was guilty through failing to help people in danger.

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KRISTALLNACHT (NIGHT OF THE BROKEN GLASS)

Berlin – November 10, 1938 – The National Socialists went on a rampage of destruction yesterday. The German Press is calling the riots spontaneous. However, they seemed to begin systematically in the early morning hours and they proceeded to burn, loot, and wreck anything associated with the Jews. Hundreds of Synagogues were destroyed, nearly 100 Jews were killed outright, and over 7,000 Jewish shops and businesses were destroyed. It is being called the Night of the Broken Glass due to all of the plate glass broken in the streets.

The Nazis claim this was a reaction to the assassination of Ernst vom Rath, Third Secretary of the German Embassy in Paris by a young Polish Jew. Propaganda Minister Goebbels said, "The justified and understandable anger of the German people over this cowardly Jewish murder of the German Diplomat in Paris found extensive expression last night...." There is talk, however, that this event was organized by Reinhard Heydrich of the S.S.

Taken from: Rita Thalmann and Emmanuel Feinermann. *Crystal Night* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1974), pp. 7-8. Reprinted by permission of Holocaust Publications, Inc. Publishers of the Holocaust Library.

Taken from: New York Teacher Magazine. *Kristallnacht*. Reprinted by permission of New York Teacher Magazine (NY-SUT).

HANDOUT D-3

NAZI LANGUAGE

During the twentieth century, we have learned that words need not serve the purpose of honest communication. In fact, words are often used to hide truth and become a means of deceiving people. During the Holocaust, Nazi language not only shielded reality from their victims but also softened the truth of the Nazi involvement in mass murder. This manipulation of language is still practiced in the modern world.

German Word	Literal Meaning	Real Meaning
1. Ausgemerzt	exterminated (insects)	murdered
2. Liquidiert	liquidated	murdered
3. Erledigt	finished (off)	murdered
4. Aktionen	actions	mission to seek out Jews and kill them
5. Sonderaktionen	special actions	special mission to kill Jews
6. Sonderbehandlung	special treatment	Jews taken through death process in camp
7. Sonderbehandelt	specially treated	sent through the death process
8. Sauberung	cleansing	sent through the death process
9. Ausschlachtung	elimination	murder of Jews
10. Aussiedlung	evacuation	murder of Jews
11. Umsiedlung	resettlement	murder of Jews
12. Exekutivmassnahme	executive measure	order for murder
13. Entsprechend behandelt	treated appropriately	murdered
14. Der Sondermassnahme zugeführt	conveyed to special measure	killed
15. Sicherheitspolizeilich durchgearbeitet	worked over in security police measure	murdered
16. Losung der Judenfrage	solution of the Jewish question	murder of Jewish people
17. Bereinigung der Judenfrage	cleaning up the Jewish question	murder
18. Judenfrei gemacht	made free of Jews	all Jews in an area killed
19. Spezialeinrichtungen	special installations	gas chambers and crematorium
20. Badeanstalten	bath houses	gas chambers
21. Leichenkeller	corpse cellar	crematorium
22. Hechenholt Foundation		diesel engine located in shack at Belzec
23. Durchgeschleusst	dragged through	used to gas Jews
24. Endlosung	the Final Solution	sent through killing process in camp
25. Hilfsmittel	auxiliary equipment	the decision to murder all Jews
		gas vans for murder

Taken from: Harry Furman, Editor. *Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1983), pp. 109-110. Reprinted by permission of the Anti-Defamation League and the New Jersey Department of Education.

HANDOUT D-4.1

HITLER'S EUTHANASIA CAMPAIGN

Richard Grunberger

A related aim – that of purifying the gene pool of the German race – lay behind the Euthanasia Campaign of 1940-1. In September 1939 Hitler ordered the 'mercy-killing' of the feeble-minded and incurables throughout the Reich – on grounds both of eugenics and wartime economy in food, accommodation and medical personnel. The first liquidation centre became operational before the end of the year; another five, one of them situated at the well-known psychiatric clinic of Hadamar, came into operation early in 1940. The man placed in overall charge of the programme was Christian Wirth, the former superintendent of the Criminal Investigation Department in Stuttgart.

Taken from: Richard Grunberger. *Hitler's SS* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970), pp. 54-56. Reprinted by permission of Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Ltd. London, England, publishers.

Wirth initially disposed of his victims by shooting them in the neck. After some time he switched over to gassing them in specially constructed chambers – and thus qualifies as co-ordinator of the mass extermination methods subsequently used in the so-called 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question.'

In each euthanasia establishment a room camouflaged as a shower-room was hermetically sealed. This was connected by a system of pipes to cylinders of carbon monoxide. The patients, before being taken in groups of ten or fifteen into this gas chamber, were generally made drowsy with the aid of morphine (or scopolamine) injections or drugged with soporifics. Each centre housed a crematorium; families were informed of patients' deaths on pre-printed forms attributing death to heart failure or pneumonia.

The steep increase in fatalities, reported under conditions of ill-concealed secrecy – palls of smoke above the crematoria were visible for miles, and at Hadamar the village children would greet incoming hospital buses with cries of 'here come some more to be gassed' prompted mount-

ing disquiet in the country. Among many rumours in circulation was one which alleged that even badly wounded soldiers were being 'mercy-killed' at military hospitals.

In August 1941 the Catholic Bishop Galen denounced the euthanasia killings in a sermon from the pulpit of his cathedral at Munster, Westphalia. This turned out to be the most successful single act of resistance ever undertaken in the Third Reich: the systematic killing of institution inmates (which had thus far cost approximately a hundred thousand lives) ceased almost immediately.

Nor was any retaliatory action taken against the bishop, although the Gestapo soon afterwards beheaded three parish priests who had distributed his sermon in leaflet form. Such glaring discrepancy of punishment was the fruit of Machiavellian calculation: while the death of anonymous parish priests would go unremarked in the surrounding welter of violence and confusion, persecution might have elevated the well-known prelate to the status of a national resistance figure.

HANDOUT D-4.2

THE EXTERMINATION OF HANDICAPPED PEOPLE IN WORLD WAR II GERMANY

Wolf Wolfensberger

The already inadequate documentation of the history of mental retardation is particularly deficient concerning activities prior to the year 1800. Recent phenomena are sparsely documented as well. For example, the story of the inhumane treatment of mentally retarded and other handicapped persons in Nazi Germany is not well known in the field today. Perhaps this is attributable to the association of the events with shameful emotions. However, English language sources have recently become both more abundant and accessible. Among these recent works is *The German Euthanasia Program: Excerpts from "A Sign for Cairn"* (Wertham, 1978) which contains two chapters from the 1966 publication in which the excerpted materials first appeared (Wertham). Also representative of this recent publication interest are Sassone and Sassone's *Handbook on Euthanasia* (1975); Sassone's 1975 updating of *The Release of the Destruction of Life Devoid of Value* (Binding & Hoche, 1920/1975; and Hong's *Bright Valley of Love* (1976). Some of the earlier English sources such as Cohen (1953) and Prittie (1964) treat the extermination of the handicapped only tangentially or superficially. Major relevant sources by Mitscherlich and Mielke (e.g., 1962, first published 1949) are extremely inaccessible and Mitscherlich implies a conspiracy of avoidance of the facts and issues.

Taken from: Wolf Wolfensberger. "The Extermination of Handicapped People in World War II Germany." *Mental Retardation*, 19(1), pp. 1-7. Used by permission of the American Association on Mental Deficiency.

From history and the study of deviancy, a strong case can be made indicating that deviancy-making is built into the very nature of human social life — indeed, even into the structure of animal societies. It seems every society has its devalued members. Societies, both past and present, find some method of putting to death those devalued members who are most despised or rejected and possibly constitute a threat to the well-being or even survival of the society itself. However, in Judeo-Christian societies, it has not been permissible to put people to death because they are mentally or physically handicapped. Even though such people are always apt to be abused the abuse is rarely glorified or explicitly sanctioned by law or religion. What abuse exists usually takes indirect forms, i.e., afflicted people are more likely to be accused of evilness (e.g., witchcraft) and their physical confinements are interpreted as therapeutic, etc.

However, a dramatic worsening of conditions occurred in modern western culture during the early years of this century. It first occurred most explicitly in Germany and most people with knowledge of the Nazi euthanasia* program assumed the phenomenon was an aberration ideologically tied to Naziism, temporally confined to the Nazi era, and geographically confined to Nazi-controlled areas. Such interpretations are not only wrong but dangerous.

The euthanasia program originated in Germany within the culture of medicine, modern intellectualism, academicism, and scientism. The program began not because it was German, or even Nazi, but because it was a phenomenon of western science in general (Haller, 1963; Wolfensberger, 1969, 1975). The explicit basis for euthanasia in Germany was described in Binding &

* The author intends that his use of the word euthanasia be read as "euthanasia" because of the varying meanings carried by the term.

Hoche's original work (1920, 1975), almost certainly before they were aware of Hitler. This was 13 years before Hitler came to power and 20 years before the Nazi euthanasia programs actually began.

Euthanasia Rationalized

The historical turning point was manifested by the appearance of Binding & Hoche's *Die Freigabe der Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens; ihr Mass und ihre Form* (1920/1975). Binding was a professor of law and philosophy and Hoche was a professor of medicine. They argued for putting to death people with "incurable idiocy," those who were "severely deformed," those who were terminally ill, or those who were mentally sound but had sustained severe injury or extended unconsciousness as a result of illness or accident. Their death was to be made painless and be administered by "an expert." The authors argued that only persons who would be able to save an individual under other circumstances should have the right to "grant death." This right to administer death was therefore firmly vested in the medical profession and the authors anticipated the current tendency for physicians to become the experts on death-making as well as on healing.

One of the amazing aspects of this book is its contemporary and modern tone, especially in the way in which its arguments for euthanasia appeal to reason, objectivity, and utility. Thus, the following phrases were to become common: discussing things in a cool and legal way; basing one's discussions on strong fundamentals; using precision in one's definitions; avoiding being illogical; and, using sound reasoning. Germany was then in dire social and economic straits. This fact placed good perspective on the book's rational utility argument that the care of mentally

HANDOUT D-4.2 (cont.)

retarded persons occupied thousands of nursing personnel who were then prevented from doing "any productive work."

Euphemistic Formulations

Modern arguments which redefine, essentially de-define, human life were also most remarkably anticipated in phrases such as: life without value for itself or society; creatures of no value at all who are quite an obstacle; a burden serving no useful purpose; a life whose continuation is of no interest to any reasonably thinking person; the irretrievably lost; empty shells; ballast-type persons of no value; weaklings; life devoid of value; and, the mentally dead. Binding and Hoche also anticipated the modern euphemisms for the murder of afflicted individuals; a blessing for the suffering; a formulation born out of deep compassion; a pure healing action; submitting a person to this healing intervention; abbreviating life; death assistance; final release; and, death with dignity.

• • •

Published thirteen years prior to the Nazi era, Binding and Hoche's book became the intellectual, social, legal, medical, and moral basis for the widespread advocacy for the destruction of handicapped and enfeebled people during the early years of World War II. It was often quoted at the Nuremberg War Crime Trials by the defendants who stood accused of having participated in possible euthanasia or medical experiments with prisoners and concentration camp victims (Binding & Hoche, 1920/1975).

Shared initially by few people, the sentiments expressed by Binding and Hoche were eventually adopted by many others. These arguments par-

ticularly played into the hands of the racist eugenics concepts of the Nazis — and of many non-Nazis (and non-Germans) as well....

INITIATION AND TRANSACTION

The Authorization

The authority for the initiation of the German euthanasia program was a letter written by Adolf Hitler in October of 1939, dated back to the first day of the war, 1 September 1939. It was deceptively mild and brief:

Reichleader Bouhler and Dr. Med. Brandt are responsibly commissioned to extend the authority of physicians, to be designated by name, so that a mercy death may be granted to patients who according to human judgement are incurably ill according to the most critical evaluation of the state of their disease.

(Signed) Adolf Hitler

An examination of this letter in its original German (Domarus, 1965) and in other translations indicates basic agreement of the translations with the original. This particular translation is from Wertham (1978, p. 37-38). Hitler's edict was actually, and even remained, in violation of the German statutes which were legitimized only by broad practice and support from many people.

The Victims

Initially selected for extermination were people in various institutions who had more severe physical or mental handicaps, e.g., those with severe handicaps in: mental retardation, mental disorders, tuberculosis, chronic illness, cerebral palsy, and epilepsy. However, with the quick and easy success of the early phase of the program, and the fact that a death-making apparatus had been structured that needed further victims for

perpetuation, the criteria for inclusion broadened rapidly in four directions. These directions included individuals such as: (a) the less severely afflicted; (b) those who were physically atypical but not necessarily impaired (e.g., dwarfs); (c) those suspected of genetic and racial taints; and, (d) those who were devalued entirely for their social identities, e.g., gypsies. In time, people were categorized into these groups if they had behavior problems or enuresis, odd-shaped ears, or, very dark eyes, hair or complexion. In fact, the authorities on the Nazi genocide (e.g., Cohen 1953; Mitscherlich & Mielke, 1962; Wertham, 1966, 1978) emphasize repeatedly that the killing of the Jews evolved out of the desensitization, legitimization, personnel preparation and equipment development associated with the killing of handicapped persons.

The Numbers

The exact number of such people who were put to death has never been determined. Estimates (e.g., Cohen, 1953) indicate between 7 and 9 million people died in concentration camps, but hosts of others were exterminated elsewhere. Among the exterminated were an estimated 1,500,000 children. Much as the number of Jewish deaths had to be inferred (5-6 million), so it is estimated that possibly 1,000,000 people became victims of the euthanasia program. Among the estimated 300,000 mentally handicapped victims, perhaps 100,000 were mentally retarded (Wertham, 1966, 1978). Of Berlin's 16,300 mental patients, 2400 survived. In one Bavarian institution 200 survived out of 2500. Some institutions simply closed because all the residents had been deinstitutionalized (Wertham, 1966, 1978). The program was so successful, my visit to a large German institution for the mentally retarded in 1963 revealed the presence of relatively few living

HANDOUT D-4.2 (cont.)

units for mature adults because few mentally retarded adults were then to be found in Germany.

The Locations

We sometimes think these exterminations occurred in concentration camps, but this is largely untrue. Aside from some minor use of concentration camps, there were apparently three major extermination loci: (a) Special extermination institutions existed, with gas chambers installed in at least four psychiatric institutions. In some of these an average of 75 patients were received daily from other institutions for about two years and they were usually dead by nightfall (Mitscherlich & Mielke, 1962). (b) Extermination operations and/or units in regular institutions also existed. (c) Exterminations proceeded in medical settings for children who had various handicaps or devalued characteristics, particularly in a number of pediatric clinics.

Modes of Killing

People were put to death by apparently six major methods: (a) gas, usually mass gassing of groups; (b) oral poison, often administered with food or as medicine; (c) injections into the bloodstream of poison (e.g., naphtha), air, or lethal doses of drugs (e.g., morphine, barbiturates); (d) starvation; (e) withholding of medical and other care; and (f) exposure, e.g., to cold, wet, stress, coupled with the withholding of food and/or medical care. All these methods, except perhaps starvation, shared at least two noteworthy characteristics. First, they were relatively economical. Secondly, as one of the characters in the 1978 television series *Holocaust* put it, they were neat. By not involving blood and violence the sensibilities of the people involved in the executions were

protected. Indeed, it was this very neatness that enabled so many of the perpetrators to later disclaim both wrong-doing and guilt (e.g., Wertham, 1966, 1978).

Families of victims typically were informed relatives had died of pneumonia – this was so stereotypic an explanation for all sorts of inflicted deaths it became a joke in Germany toward the end of World War II.

Planning and Logistics

It is worthy of attention that the logistics and organization of the program were far superior to those of probably any modern human service, community mental health, or similar projects or plans. It involved the most meticulous preparation and planning: a detailed working out of methods, the formation of agencies to cooperatively carry out different elements of the plan (registration, transportation, etc.), the installation of death-dealing equipment, and finally the action. Despite the complexity of involving the whole chain of mental institutions, hospitals, universities, professors, etc., everything went like clockwork – despite war and shortages (Wertham, 1966, 1978).

Perpetrators and Facilitators

It appears that participation and guilt for this slaughtering can be classified into several broad levels. At one level were the intellectual and moral inventors, theorizers and rationalizers of *euthanasia* which included a large number of university professors, lawyers, and other intellectuals. Unlike some theoreticians, many of these people participated actively in putting their beliefs into practice by visiting extermination centers, witnessing executions, and often participating in them (e.g., Binding & Hoche, 1920/1975; Cohen, 1953).

At a second level were the masses of physicians, nurses, aides, technicians, and similar personnel who actually dealt out death by methods such as gas, poison, injection and starvation.

At a third level, people serviced the extermination machine: they knew what was going on, did not deal out death themselves, but participated in the identification and selection of victims, the transportation arrangements, the administration of the system, the running of the physical plants, the facilitation of the tasks and lives of the death dealers, the handling of victims while in transition to extermination, and any other processing procedures.

At a fourth level were people who were close enough to the action to know what was going on, disapproved of it, but did not risk taking any oppositional or otherwise courageous stand. They included many of the staff of the institutions who stood by wringing their hands or crying while their clients were being taken away. In a similar position were many families who neither risked protest nor took their handicapped relatives home. Some of these actors were even drawn into the killing from misdirected positive motives. For instance, Dr. Bouhler, an "honest and kindly man," assumed leadership of the euthanasia project to prevent Bormann from gaining control of it and thus to minimize the number of deaths....

Finally, on a fifth level there were many people who did not know what was going on, would not have approved, but actively avoided seeking the truth. This included the wishful thinkers of good intentions, the repressors, the morally lukewarm, the faint of heart, and the self-centered, among others. Many people today would also be categorized as such.

Of special significance is the participatory role played both by the intelligentsia and academia, and especially the profession of medicine within

HANDOUT D-4.2 (cont.)

which psychiatry was especially prominent. In many cases, it was the psychiatrist or staff physician who turned on the gas, rather than a technician – probably as another neat, noble, sensitive gesture. Also, and of most critical importance, while **no one was forced to deal out death**, participation was not only voluntary but even enthusiastic and committed! For instance, upon the extermination of the ten thousandth mental patient at the Hadamar psychiatric institution in 1941, a big celebration was held in which psychiatrists, nurses, attendants and secretaries all participated and free drinks were poured (Wertham, 1966, 1978).

Many of Germany's prominent psychiatrists collaborated or participated in the killing, or benefitted from it. Neurologists, psychiatrists and other physicians gained scientific and professional benefits from the slaughter, e.g., in the form of the skulls, brains, or other body parts of the victims (Mitscherlich & Mielke, 1962). Often the buses of the Patient Transport Corporation that took the victims to their deaths returned with their brains to deliver them to research laboratories (Cohen, 1953).... Their texts were widely used or cited by American psychiatrists and continue to be even today.

Detoxification of the Killing

Making immoral action look **neat** is now sometimes termed detoxification. Despite the scope of, and massive participation in, the extermination program, it was not only remarkably successfully detoxified, but such efforts also pre-saged some of the current detoxifications of abortion, infanticide and euthanasia. For instance, a eugenics society that experimented on prisoners was called the Ancestral Heritage Community. Organizations that played a major role in the euthanasia program included the Na-

tional Group for the Study of Sanatoria and Nursing Homes, the Foundation for the Care of Institutions in the Public Interest, and the Reich (National) Association Hospital and Nursing Establishment. The victims were transported to their death by vehicles of the Patient Transport Corporation and the Limited Company for the Transport of Invalids in the Public Interest (Cohen, 1953; Mitscherlich & Mielke, 1962), similar to today's medical cab or ambulance services. The killing of mentally and physically handicapped children was under the aegis of the Reich Committee for Research on Hereditary and Constitutional Severe Diseases, thus presenting murder as good science. The institutions where much of the killing took place had names such as Sonnenstein (Sunstone, the name of a mountain) and Hadamar Sanatorium and Convalescent Home, formerly a Franciscan monastery. Also, the fact that several psychiatric facilities instituted in-service training on mass killing techniques must have had a detoxifying impact.

Sassone's edited translation of Binding and Hoche (1975) contains several chilling illustrations, including the somewhat familiar concentration camp scenes, mass graves, and rooms with the prosthetic devices of euthanasia victims stacked to the ceiling. Most relevant for today is the presentation of a picture that shows German physicians in military uniforms performing gruesome medical experiments on concentration camp victims, and another scene in which a person who is wearing the Red Cross arm band, which ordinarily would designate medical assistance personnel, is burning a euthanasia victim in an oven.

Flawed or Absent Opposition

There were few heroes in this sorry chapter of history, it seems; however, wherever there is evil

one can expect moral figures to emerge. Undoubtedly, some resisters disappeared without becoming known. Major opposition did come from the pastors who directed institutions and from the churches (e.g., Hong, 1976; Teufel, 1960). However, even much of this opposition was flawed (e.g., Wertham, 1966, 1978). It was: (a) slow in coming, (b) restrained in expression, and (c) just as **neat** as the extermination in that it pursued administrative, legal and other normative channels of recourse. For instance, a major memorandum from a major Protestant church leader protested that the killing violated due process – rather than the law of God (Mitscherlich & Mielke, 1962, p. 254ff.) A pastor-administrator of one of the affected institutions similarly focussed his protest (p. 257) on the illegality rather than immorality of the killing. I have not yet discovered sufficient documentation of persons having taken a prophetic stand such as actually blocking the doorway to the henchmen or offering themselves in lieu of a handicapped person.

It has been claimed generally that the euthanasia program ended in 1941, attributable to mounting opposition and because at about that time, many of the participating physicians were sent to the occupied countries to launch and participate in the mass extermination of Jews. However, Wertham (1966, 1978) forcefully refuted this argument. He showed it was only the gassing that was discontinued in 1941 – to be replaced by poisonous injections and other means that were also the ones used to murder foreign slave laborers who were committed to institutions. He further claimed (since confirmed) that the killings continued massively to the very end of the war in 1945 – and in at least in one place, in Bavaria, for a few days beyond the end of the Hitler regime (Breggin, 1979). Wertham contended that without the advent of allied armies many more psy-

HANDOUT D-4.2 (cont.)

chiatric victims and handicapped people would have been exterminated. He ascribed the prevailing assumption that the killing stopped in 1941 to the cessation of the obvious aspects of euthanasia, pointing out that the program actually only changed its form, becoming more subtle and thereby less obvious. Cohen (1953) believed the emphasis shifted in 1941 from the killing of adults to killing children.

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- Author: WOLF WOLFENBERGER, Ph. D., Training Institute for Human Services Planning Leadership and Change Agency, 805 South Crouse Avenue, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York 13210.

HANDOUT D-5

LEBENSBOHN (FOUNTAIN OF LIFE)

Richard Grunberger

All the pieces in Himmler's eugenic jigsaw – infertile couples, Germanized Slavs, 'procreation assistants', unmarried mothers – were moved into place by 'Lebensborn' (Fountain of Life), an SS founding hospital-cum-adoption society established in 1936. According to the Lebensborn report for 1938, '832 valuable German women decided despite their single state and the sacrifice entailed, to eschew abortion and present the nation with a child'. Assessing each German's life contribution to the economy at one hundred thousand Reichsmark, Lebensborn claimed to have enriched the country by eighty-three million Reichsmark.

Eventually thousands of Lebensborn wards were placed with childless Nazi couples; more importantly, in wartime the original objective – delivering and fostering illegitimate German children – was superseded by the genetic spoliation of Eastern Europe.

During his first inspection tour of occupied Poland Himmler had been deeply stirred by the

Taken from: Richard Grunberger. *Hitler's SS* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970), pp. 52-54. Reprinted by permission of Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Ltd. London, England, publishers.

Nordic appearance of many Slav children and this may have started a train of thought culminating in his war aim 'to enlarge Germany's existing blood basis of 90 million to 120 million'. Kidnapped children – snatched from orphanages or alleged resistance families – were taken to Lebensborn homes dotted across occupied Europe; after a processing period during which the bewildered children were drilled in rudimentary German and denied any contact with their compatriots, they went off to the Reich already bearing the names of their designated foster parents.

Germanization was by no means confined to children nor were all Germanized Slavs necessarily outright victims of force. In Poland, where Poles and Germans had long intermarried, Polish nationals of part-German ancestry could apply for Reich citizenship which – given the situation of Poles under Nazi occupation – many were quite eager to do.

But volunteers could never meet Himmler's need for genetic reinforcements, and two special SS agencies – the Volkdeutsche Liaison Office and the Race and Settlement Office – scoured Europe to select human specimens considered suitable for Germanization. Besides abduction, the tasks of RUSHA, the Race and Settlement Office, ranged from conscription of slave labour, the infliction of (frequently capital) punishment on East Europeans guilty of intimacy with German

women, to the clearance of Slavs from regions earmarked for German settlement.

One such region was the Warthegau in Western Poland. The Warthegau 'plantation' involved clearing one and a half million *Volksdeutsche* from Eastern Poland, Rumania and the Baltic States. Himmler, newly styled 'Reich Commissioner for the consolidation of German folkdom', ordered the clearance during the Arctic winter of 1939-40, and thus caused a heavier death toll than resulted from Hitler's concurrent directive to decapitate the Polish nation by liquidating its intellectuals and priests.

These SS population transfers resembled nothing so much as the fourth-century Migration of the Peoples. Like their precursors in the Dark Ages, they were characterized in equal parts by barbarity and chaos: in 1942 Germans from Yugoslavia arrived in the East Polish areas whence *Volksdeutsche* had migrated to the Warthegau two years earlier.

The migrants, apart from having to give up ancient homesteads, frequently in exchange for makeshift accommodation in transit camps, were never asked whether or where they wanted to move; 'beneficiaries' and victims of the population transfers alike simply served the grand design of enlarging and consolidating the area of German settlement in Europe.

• • •

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

FROM

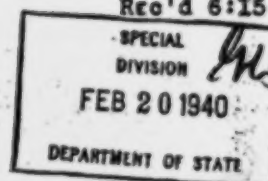
JT
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (br)

BERLIN

Dated February 16, 1940

Rec'd 6:15 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.



425, February 16, 6 p.m. (SECTION ONE)

My No. 87, January 12, 11 a.m., penultimate paragraph.

CONFIDENTIAL

It is learned from authoritative sources that almost
the entire Jewish population of the municipal district of
Stettin consisting of some 1200 Jews were ordered on seven
hours' notice to leave their homes on Monday evening February
12 and were removed from the city in the course of the same
night. Their dwellings have been sealed by the police and
practically the only Jews exempted from the evacuation
order were young children and the aged sick who have been
left respectively in children's and old people's homes.
Precise information is still lacking as to where the evacuees
have been sent but it is believed that they will eventually
be transported to the Lublin district in eastern Poland and
they are reported as having stopped at the town of Kielce.

KIRK

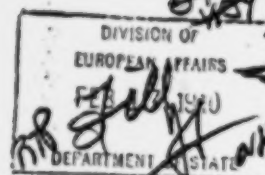
NPL

GML

62.4016

FILED
FEB 21 1940

862.4016/2156



TELEGRAM RECEIVED

EU
SD

JT

This telegram must be
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fore being communicated
to anyone. (br)

FROM

BERLIN

Dated February 16, 1940

Rec'd 6:42 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

425, February 16, 6 p.m. (SECTION TWO)

The transfer of the Stettin Jews presumably to Poland is the first time that such steps have been taken with respect to any group of national Germans residing in the territory of the old Reich. It is understood that the central Government authorities in Berlin profess that they were not consulted regarding this measure which they attribute to the initiative of a local party leader. They have refused, however, to revoke the action taken in Stettin. It is reported that the contingent of Jews transferred from that city included a number of Jews who had made preparations for emigrating to foreign countries. Officials in Berlin are understood to have stated in reply to inquiries that the status of these Jews was now a matter for the government General of Poland to determine and at the same time the intimation was given that the Jews in question would probably not be permitted to emigrate abroad.

KIRK

NPL

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JT

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (br)

FROM

BERLIN

Dated February 16, 1940

Rec'd 8:46 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

425, February 16, 6 p.m. (SECTION THREE)

Information has just been received that an order has been issued for the removal within about a week's time of the Jews from the town of Schneidemuhl who are presumably also to be sent to eastern Poland and the central Jewish authorities in Berlin are apprehensive that the measures adopted in Stettin and projected in this second case may be a prelude to a more general evacuation of the German Jews from Reich territory which has often been mooted in the recent past (see Embassy's telegram No. 1685, October 12, 11 a.m.). Substance is lent to this possibility by the information received from the Government General of Poland and reported in a recent confidential telegram that the authorities there are planning to receive about 60,000 Jews from the Berlin and Vienna areas and by further reports that barracks evidently for Jews are being built in and around small towns in central and eastern Poland. It is apparently planned to employ the Jews on land improvement and forestry work in these regions thus releasing Poles for other types of labor in particular agriculture.

NPL

KIRK

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RPP

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closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (br)

FROM: Berlin

Dated February 16, 1940

Rec'd 2:15 a.m., 17th

Secretary of State

Washington

425, February 16, 6 p.m. (SECTION FOUR).

Although a denial was recently received from official sources in Berlin that a plan for the removal of German Jews from the old Reich territory was being considered the central Jewish authorities envisage the possibility that much the same result may be accomplished by local action patterned after that taken in Stettin and planned in the case of Schneidemuhl.

A decision to transfer the Jews from German cities to Poland may possibly be due to the slackening of the rate of emigration caused by difficulties created by the war. According to Jewish authorities a total number of between 7000 and 8000 Jews emigrated to foreign countries from the old Reich during the five-month period of September through January. About one half of this number received assistance from Jewish organizations while the rest financed their emigration from their own resources. Incidentally it is learned that the police authorities have raised their ban upon the release from German concentration camps

RFP -2- #425, February 16, 6 p.m. (SECTION FOUR) from Berlin

camps of Polish and stateless Jews who had definite prospects of emigration and such Jews are now being allowed to emigrate abroad except those under 45 years of age who may not proceed to the British mandate of Palestine.

(END OF MESSAGE)

KIRK

CFW

107

HANDOUT D-6

Document B

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

IL, 9
W. G. H.
E. H.

PM

FROM

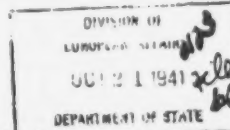
Berlin

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closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (C)

Dated October 20, 1941

Rec'd 4:43 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.



3825, October 20, 6 p.m.

162.4016

Authentic information has now been obtained
that at least 20,000 Jews are to be deported from
German cities mostly to the Ghetto of Lodz before
the end of this month. The first group of 1000
people left Berlin on October 18 after standing for
between 24 and 48 hours in the Synagogue in Lev-
stowstrasse which can normally accommodate only
300 persons for overnight lodging. Another 2000
leave Frankfurt-on-Main today and a further 2000
leave Cologne tomorrow while a second Berlin con-
tingent is to depart on October 24. These groups
consist almost entirely of elderly Jews but it is
anticipated that under present plans all Jews in
Germany will be deported within a few months.

MORRIS.

END

Taken from: National Archives of the United States,
Washington, DC. File 862.4016/2207.

862.4016/2207

FILED

OCT 23 1941

PS/VB

2207

HANDOUT D-6

Document C

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

NWN

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (C)

Berlin
FROM Dated October 27, 1941
Rec'd. 5:36 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

RUSH

3900, October 27, 7 p.m.

Continuing my 3899 October 27, 6 p.m. (SECTION TWO).

This propaganda obviously represents an intensified effort by the German authorities to counteract the wide spread and increasingly open criticism by decent minded Germans of the summary manner in which Jews in various German cities are at present being stripped of their belongings and herded into railway cars for shipment to Poland and an unknown fate.

It is learned that further trainloads of Jews are leaving Berlin and other points this week and there is every reason to believe that the deportations program will be carried on well into the winter. In addition all male Jews in Hamburg between the ages of 18 and 60 have been suddenly rounded

Taken from: National Archives of the United States, Washington, DC. File 862-4016/2208.

-2- #3900, October 27, 7 p.m. from Berlin.

rounded up, deprived of their property, and sent to the Minsk area for clearing wreckage. The issuance of passports for Jews still able to emigrate overseas has been stopped and there have been intimations that the group of 700 leaving for Lisbon in the next ten days may be the last.

(END OF MESSAGE)

MORRIS

CSB

862.4016/2208

NOV 5 1941

PB/VB

2208

HANDOUT D-6

Document D

TELEGRAM RECEIVED
GRAY
Berlin
FROM
Dated November 16, 1941
Rec'd. 11:49 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

4104, November 16, 11 a.m.

The German propaganda authorities are now endeavoring by articles in the press, the distribution of leaflets, and local public meetings with party orators, to revive in the public an anti-Semitic feeling sufficient to overcome the widespread revulsion at the latest and most drastic phase in the history of Nazi persecution of the Jews. It has not become generally known that all able-bodied Jews in Germany are being sent to Russia for forced labor and that many thousands of elderly Jews are being deported to the East, and stories are filtering back to Berlin to the effect that those already evacuated are being in effect exterminated by disease, cold, and starvation, and in some cases their outright massacre by their captors. The realization of these facts, together with the terrible impression created by the Jewish badges has evidently led not only to open demonstrations of sympathy with Jews by large sections

Taken from: National Archives of the United States,
Washington, DC. File 862.4016/2212.

234

110

-2- #4104, November 16, 11 a.m. from Berlin

of the public, but probably also to an effort in higher quarters to restrain the more radical element which appears to have obtained the upper hand in this policy on the grounds that such action is in the party support and toleration at a time when national unity and civilian morale are of supreme importance.

In view of this situation Goebbels sees fit this weekend to use one of his biggest propaganda guns namely a leading article on this subject in his own name in DAS REICH which for savagery and bloodthirstiness could scarcely be excelled. Under the title "Jews are to blame" he states in effect that International Jewry is responsible for all Germany's ills including the war and that accordingly under the law of retribution Hitler's prophecy of January 30, 1939, to the effect that this war will result in "the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe" will be fulfilled. He criticizes at great length people in Germany who still allow themselves to be "duped" by the various Jewish tricks now allegedly being used to awaken sympathy and declares that the greatest weakness of Germans is their magnanimity and forgetfulness. He quotes Klopstock's advice that Germans "should not be too just" and states that in any case "we cannot turn back

235

-3- #4104, November 16, 11 a.m. from Berlin

back in our fight against Jewry even if we wanted to". He finds it remarkable that every measure taken against the Jews in Germany is reported in British and American newspapers the following day and states that this proves that "the Jews still have secret means of communication with enemy foreign countries and use them not only for their own affairs but also in all matters which are of importance to the war".

Goebbels then gives the German people ten commandments regarding the Jews including statements that "anyone who still has private relations with them must be ostracized and treated like a Jew" and "anyone who takes their side is deserting to the enemy in war time". He continues: "whenever Jews open their mouths on the street, standing in line in front of stores, or in public conveyances, they should be made to keep quiet, not only because they are wrong as a matter of principle but because they are Jews and have no voice in the community".

Goebbels concludes by declaring that it is the duty of everyone to understand the measures taken by the state against the Jews since it is a matter of the security of the state itself.

Recent reports indicate that the program for the
23222222 2400 1535 deportation

-4- #4104, November 16, 11 a.m. from Berlin

deportation of Jews from Germany has been somewhat slowed down by the shortage of rolling stock but that preparations for its completion are continuing. Meanwhile, it is claimed that Jewish suicides are continuing at a rate of over 100 per day throughout the Reich and the numerous reports received of such suicides in Berlin alone indicate that this figure is not implausible.

MORRIS

BTM

HANDOUT D-6

Document E

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

RCC

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

FROM

Stockholm

Dated July 16, 1942

Rec'd 1:18 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

1831, July 16, 1 p.m.

Following information regarding executions and number of Jews residing before and after German occupation in certain districts of eastern Europe has been received from a member of Polish Legation staff favorably known to this Legation as a well-informed person who is not given to irresponsible statements.

Following figures covering number of Jews executed in various places by the Germans obtained from Stockholm newspaper correspondents and unconfirmed, but believed by informant to be approximately correct:

Vilna 60,000; White Ruthenia 84,000; Latvia and Estonia 40,000, and Kiev 100,000. Another independent source confirmed last two figures.

According to what informant considered reliable information 70,000 Jews resided Vilna before German occupation as compared with 5,000 at present; corresponding figures for Riga 25,000 and 300.

Estonian

Taken from: National Archives of the United States, Washington, DC. File 862.4016/2229.

-2- # 1831, July 16, 1 p.m., from Stockholm.

Estonian officer serving with German occupation forces in Baltic States reported following story to persons who communicated it to Helsinki whence it was reported to Polish Legation in Stockholm: He escorted group of Estonian Jews to Riga where he stayed long enough to see them imprisoned and to witness execution of 400 other Jews. They were compelled to dig own graves in open field, men to strip, women to remove dresses, then German S S firing squad partly staffed with local Quiltingites did its work. Another independent source confirmed similar methods used in Kiev and Estonia. Protests by local inhabitants at treatment of Jews only resulted more vigorous persecution.

JOHNSON

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MEMORANDUM

August 26, 1942

Mr. Atherton ✓

This despatch from Mr. Elting, the American Vice Consul at Geneva, Switzerland, encloses a memorandum of conversation with Mr. Gerhart M. Riegner, Secretary of the World Jewish Congress.

Mr. Riegner claims to have information from Germany to the effect that Hitler intends gathering all European Jews in one spot in Poland. He will then solve the Jewish problem forever by mass murder. This story would appear to be fantastic but Mr. Elting evidently attached a certain importance to it. Mr. Riegner desired to have the report brought to the attention of Dr. Stephen Wise.

rk
Eu:RBReams:ME

Taken from: National Archives of the United States,
Washington, DC. File 8621016/2234.

Air Mail Pouch

No. 35, Political

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Geneva, Switzerland, August 10, 1942

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT:

Transmitting Memorandum of Conversation
with Secretary of Jewish Congress, Geneva,
concerning Report that Germans are Consider-
ing Wholesale Extermination of Jews.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

SIR:

At the suggestion of the Legation at Bern, I have
the honor to enclose a copy of a memorandum in the above
entitled matter.

I desire to reiterate my belief in the utter
seriousness of my informant.

Respectfully yours,

Howard Kitting, Jr.
American Vice Consul

Enclosure:

Copy of memorandum, as stated.

In sextuplicate to Department
SOO
HE/dh

GROUP 5
Declassified 2/26/70
SOURCE: DYLAN V. MARTIN
EUR/EE
R2/R-JMM

862.4016/2234

FILED PS/MEL

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August 8, 1942

MEMORANDUM

Subject: Conversation with Mr. Gerhart
M. RIEGNER, Secretary of World
Jewish Congress

This morning Mr. Gerhart M. RIEGNER, Secretary of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva, called in great agitation. He stated that he had just received a report from a German business man of considerable prominence, who is said to have excellent political and military connections in Germany and from whom reliable and important political information has been obtained on two previous occasions, to the effect that there has been and is being considered in Hitler's headquarters a plan to exterminate all Jews from Germany and German controlled areas in Europe after they have been concentrated in the east (presumably Poland). The number involved is said to be between three and a half and four millions and the object is to permanently settle the Jewish question in Europe. The mass execution if decided upon would allegedly take place this fall.

Riegner stated that according to his informant the use of prussic acid was mentioned as a means of accomplishing the executions. When I mentioned that this report seemed fantastic to me, Riegner said that it had struck him in the same way but that from the fact that mass deportation had been taking place since July 16 as confirmed by reports received by him from Paris, Holland, Berlin, Vienna, and Prague it was always conceivable that such a diabolical plan was actually being considered by Hitler as a corollary.

According to Riegner, 14,000 Jews have already been deported from occupied France and 10,000 more are to be handed over from occupied France in the course of the next few days. Similarly from German sources 86,000 Jews have already been deported from the Protectorate together with unspecified numbers from Germany and other occupied countries.

Riegner said this report was so serious and alarming that he felt it his duty to make the following requests: (1) that the American and other Allied Governments be informed with regard thereto at once; (2) that they be asked to try by every means to obtain confirmation or denial; (3) that Dr. Stephen Wise, the president of his organization, be informed of the report.

I told Riegner that the information would be passed on to the Legation at once but that I was not in a position to inform him as to what action, if any, the Legation might take. He hoped that he might be informed in due

course

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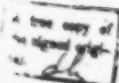
course that the information had been transmitted to Washington.

For what it is worth, my personal opinion is that Riegner is a serious and balanced individual and that he would never have come to the Consulate with the above report if he had not had confidence in his informant's reliability and if he did not seriously consider that the report might well contain an element of truth. Again it is my opinion that the report should be passed on to the Department for what it is worth.

There is attached a draft of a telegram prepared by Riegner giving in his own words a telegraphic summary of his statements to me.

Howard Kitting Jr.
American Vice Consul

American Consulate
Geneva, Switzerland
BOC
HE/dh



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Copy

DR. STEPHEN WISE PRESIDENT AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

330 WEST 42ND STREET ROOM 809

NEW YORK

RECEIVED ALARMING REPORT STATING THAT IN RUEHRERS
HEADQUARTERS A PLAN HAS BEEN DISCUSSED AND BEING UNDER
CONSIDERATION ACCORDING WHICH TOTAL OF JEWS IN COUNTRIES
OCCUPIED CONTROLLED BY GERMANY NUMBERING THREE AND HALF
TO FOUR MILLIONS SHOULD AFTER DEPORTATION AND CONCENTRATED
IN EAST BE AT ONE BLOW EXTERMINATED IN ORDER RESOLVE ONCE
FOR ALL JEWISH QUESTION IN EUROPE STOP ACTION IS REPORTED
TO BE PLANNED FOR AUTUMN WAYS OF EXECUTION STILL DISCUSSED
STOP IT HAS BEEN SPOKEN OF PRUSSIC ACID STOP IN TRANS-
MITTING INFORMATION WITH ALL NECESSARY RESERVATION AS
EXACTITUDE CANNOT BE CONTROLLED BY US BEG TO STATE THAT
INFORMER IS REPORTED HAVE CLOSE CONNECTIONS WITH HIGHEST
GERMAN AUTHORITIES AND HIS REPORTS TO BE GENERALLY RELIABLE

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

OSWALD RIEGNER

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Declaration signed by U.S. and U.K.
Aug 30, 45. and U.K.
with this subject

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

near the Polish Government
LONDON, August 10, 1943.

No. 369.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

13 AUG 18 PM 12 42

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
RECORDS

Subject: Attaching copies of confidential Aide-Memoire handed me by Polish Foreign Minister Romer containing a very recent report on the ruthless measures of extermination presently being applied by the Germans against the Poles.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to forward the attached copies of a confidential Aide-Memoire handed me by Polish Foreign Minister Romer, containing a very recent report upon the ruthless measures of extermination presently being applied by the Germans against the Poles.

In handing me this Aide-Memoire, Minister Romer drew my attention to certain suggestions as to measures to prevent further murders, namely (a) widespread radio broadcasting to Germany and the occupied countries of the character and extent and purpose of the mass murders committed against the Polish people; (b) the issue of an official statement by our Government - and if possible jointly with the British Government - embodying certain arguments and the essence of the proposed broadcast action; (c) an examination of measures for immediate reprisals.

Minister Romer furthermore said that notwithstanding certain objections on the part of the British Government to the Polish Government's suggestion, when the Polish Government had discussed the problem of reprisals in connection with the extermination of the Jewish population the Polish Government felt that the present grave situation in Poland, and the danger of its becoming worse, might oblige the Polish Government to suggest to our and the British Government the need for renewed consideration by the three Governments of the principle of reprisals as such, and in event this were positively

settled/

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740.00116 E. W. 1939/1052

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PS/CLAS

RECEIVED WASHINGTON

-2-

settled, of their character and scope.

Respectfully yours,

A. J. Drexel Biddle
A. J. Drexel Biddle, Jr. r

119

AJDEJr:GMT

Original and hectograph.

Enclosures:

1/ as stated.

Hecto sent to DCS

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch Polish Series
No. 349, dated August 10, 1943

COPT.

AIDE - MEMOIRE

1. The Polish Government along with the Governments of other Allied countries received with great satisfaction the announcement that neutral countries had been warned against granting asylum to war criminals. Information received from Poland, and referred to in Paragraph 2 below, impels the Polish Government to draw the attention of the Government of the United States of America to the fact that, apart from the punishment of war criminals for the crimes they have committed, it has become more imperative than ever to restrain the Germans from committing further the mass murder of the Polish population in Poland. This becomes all the more urgent since it may be anticipated that the policy of exterminating the population of entire provinces, as is practised in Poland, may also be applied by the Germans in the present final stage of the war to the people in other German-occupied territories, like the Czechs, Yugoslavs, French and those in the occupied parts of the U.S.S.R.

2. According to news received from Poland, after exterminating the majority of the Jewish population there, the Germans have since the autumn 1942 begun to deport hundreds of thousands of Poles whose homes lie along a 100 kilometer broad belt to the West of a line reaching from Bialystok along the rivers Bug and Zbrus.

A large proportion of those intended for deportation were murdered. In addition thousands of Polish children were separated from their parents and sent to Germany to be brought up as Germans. A considerable number of the Polish minorities living in East-Prussia farther to the North of the Bialystok area, was deported to the Reich proper.

The inhabitants of the province of Lublin to the West of the belt which had been cleared of its population were not deported; the Germans began to murder them in July 1943. Men from 14 to 50 are taken to Germany. Women, children and old people are sent to camps to be killed in gas chambers which previously served to exterminate the Jewish population of Poland.

On July 26th the Polish Government learned from the Homeland that the Germans are adopting the same methods in the provinces of Radom and Cracow

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-2-

Cracow. The population of the provinces of Lublin, Radom and Cracow total more than 7 million. Details regarding the above information are given in an Appendix.

3. It may be presumed that the Germans are reckoning on the possibility of a defeat, and have consequently decided to exterminate the largest possible proportion of the Polish population with a view to assuring to the German race, after the war, a numerical superiority over its neighbours in the aggregate. If no preventive measures are taken, these mass murders in the provinces of Lublin, Radom and Cracow may be extended to the inhabitants of the remaining Polish provinces, as well as to war prisoners and Polish forced labourers in Germany, in other words to the whole Polish Nation.

There is no reason to believe that this mass extermination will not also be applied to other occupied countries in Europe. As a matter of fact Sauckel, the Reich's plenipotentiary for labour, declared at a public meeting in Cracow on the 19th June 1943: "If the Germans lose the war, we shall see that nothing remains either here or elsewhere in Europe."

4. Faced with the possible extermination of further millions of Poles, the Polish government feel compelled to appeal to the Government of the United States of America to do all in their power to prevent further murders. In the view of the Polish Government, the application of the following measures might be effective and as such are worthy of consideration:

/a/ A widespread broadcasting, over the radio and otherwise, to Germany and also to occupied countries of the character, extent and purpose of the mass-murders committed against the Polish people. This should be amplified by repeated categorical warnings to the German criminals, their families in Germany, and to the whole German people wherever they may be, that all those guilty of such deeds will be held responsible for them. It may be expected that if such warnings are given drastically and repeatedly today when Germany listens to the overseas wireless more than at any other time, it will not only in a certain measure have the desired effect, but will also be instrumental in splitting German public opinion by supplying facts and providing arguments for the opposition, thus deepening the defeatist attitude already noticeable in Germany.

/b/

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-3-

/b/ The issue of an official statement by the Government of the United States of America, /if possible jointly with the British Government/ embodying the arguments and the essence of the proposed broadcast action. The statement itself should also be the subject of broadcasts and should be dropped in the form of printed leaflets over Germany including, if possible, Eastern Germany.

/c/ The campaign of broadcasting warnings might also be extended to broadcasts to the satellites of the Reich, for under certain conditions these nations may also become the victims of German murders; such a measure may also have important consequences by contributing to the distrust of these satellites of Germany and influencing their political relations with the Reich.

/d/ An examination of measures for immediate reprisals.

When the Polish Government discussed the problem of reprisals with the British Government in connection with the extermination of the Jewish population, they met with certain objections on the part of that Government. However, the present grave situation in Poland and the danger of its worsening still further, may oblige the Polish Government to suggest to the United States and British Governments the need for a renewed consideration by the three Governments of the principle of reprisals as such, and should this be positively settled, of their choice, character and scope.

London, August 5th, 1943.

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COPY

Appendix to the Aide Memoire of August 5th, 1943

Some telegraphic dispatches from Poland received
by the Polish Government in London.

24th December, 1942.

"The Germans are now carrying out their plan of colonisation which consists in forming a belt of German settlers around the General Government from the east. It was started in the districts of Zamość, Lublin, Pulawy, Krasnostaw and Hrubieszow. The most ruthless measures of extermination are now being applied in the Zamość district. Since November 28th up to date some 30 villages have been completely evacuated, others partly, altogether some 10,000 farms. The action is being carried out by the S.S. All attempts at resistance are punished by death. German settlers from Roumania are brought in to take the place of Poles. The peasants are herded into concentration camps, whence some are sent to forced labour in the Reich, others transported to neighbouring localities and others simply thrown out. Mothers who refuse to part with their children are killed. The aged and sick are taken away to an unknown destination. One of the transports was sent to Oświęcim, probably to be annihilated there. The population is seeking shelter in the forests. There have been many instances of the departed peasants setting fire to their farms and killing their livestock. I have ordered active resistance and a large scale diversion in the Lublin district. Your help is needed, I am waiting for news. When may we count on at least a few of your bombers to assist us in our defensive action?"

27th December, 1942.

"Deportations in the Lublin district are on a large scale and are aimed at the complete extermination of the Poles. The first instances of the separation of children from their parents have been reported."

7th January, 1943.

"German terrorism is being carried out on an enormous scale in the Lublin province. Entire villages are being deported and the inhabitants are not allowed to take their possessions with them. All those capable of work are being sent to the Reich while the unfit are left in concentration camps which is equivalent to death sentence. The children are

torn

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- 2 -

torn away from their parents and sent to an unknown destination, others distributed among the villages of neighbouring districts. In Zamość itself 12,000 farms have been evacuated. The vacated villages are then populated by "Volksdeutsche" from Bessarabia. All fit for work try to escape to the forests - the situation is tragic. Similar measures are being taken by the Germans in the Sokółów district.

24th January, 1943.

"It has been ascertained that after selection some of the children from the Zamość district are being sent to the Reich. Such transports have left Zamość, Chełm, Garwolin and Cracow. The remainder are being directed from temporary camps into neighbouring districts and then distributed among the villages. One transport arrived in Warsaw on the 9th inst. The children are in a terrible condition. The reaction of the Polish community in Warsaw was so violent that the German authorities were forced to issue repeated denials of this fact and warned the people that the spreading of rumours would be punishable by imprisonment. In Radom notices were posted up announcing that the entire population, excepting people employed in German industry, was to be deported.

In the Białystok district mass deportations of the population inhabiting localities on the border of the Białowieża forests and on the right bank of the river Bug have commenced. Mass executions are taking place. The population is directed into towns. In Białystok itself there are already over 40,000 deported Poles."

5th March, 1943.

"At the end of February new deportations were carried out in the Hrubieszów district. The following communes have been completely evacuated: Grabowice, Uchanie, and Białopole - 48 villages in all. Partial evacuation was carried out in the communes of Dubienka and Mietkie - altogether 9 villages. A total of 57 villages are concerned. Ukrainian colonists are being settled there. Some twenty per cent. of the Poles have been deported, others are hiding in the districts so far untouched by these German activities. The ruthlessness of the Ukrainian officials equals the German terrorist methods."

14th July, 1943.

"In the Bilgoraj district and the southern part of the Zamość and Janów areas, as well as in the western part of the Hrubieszów district all men, women and children have been deported from 80 villages situated in and around forests - altogether 21,000 people and taken to the Zamość concentration camp. The entire population of the towns of Zaklików and Nybród has also been deported. Recently some 7,000 people have been arriving at Lublin daily, 15 per

cent

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cent. of whom are taken away to forced labour in Germany and others to the Majdanek camp. The Commander of the Armed Forces in the Lublin district informed me that he had evidence that some of these people are being murdered in gas cells there."

17th July, 1943.

"At present the Germans are carrying out large scale measures aimed at the extermination of the peasants in the entire Lublin district. Railway and telephone communications with that district have been cut. This is taking place in the districts of Bilgoraj, Janów, Tomaszów, Krubieszów, Krasnostaw, Zamość, Lubartów and Pulawy, - some of these districts, such as Bilgoraj - have been completely cleared of its population. Only cattle are left wandering about the fields. A large proportion of people is killed on the spot. Infants are murdered simply by a kick with the boot, others are segregated - children up to 13 years of age, women and men over 50 being taken to be annihilated elsewhere.

It has been ascertained that on July 2nd and 5th, two transports made of women, children and old men, consisting of 30 wagons each, have been liquidated in gas cells. Men between 14 and 50 are taken away to an unknown destination. Some hundred thousand people are wandering about the forests which are under constant fire from artillery and from the air. Recently young Poles imprisoned in the Majdanek camp have been invited to join the "Polish Legion" which is being formed by the Germans in Lublin."

28th July, 1943.

"On the 10th of this month posters were put up in Bialystok announcing that 85 people had been arrested and shot for activities hostile to the German people. Furthermore from the 10th to the 14th inst. about five hundred people were shot from among the intellectual workers. Whole families with their children, doctors, teachers, lawyers, judges, etc. have been murdered. The greatest crime in that region."

Report /not dated/ L.729/43.

The Fate of the Children from Zamość

"Transports of children torn away from their parents are being directed mainly to the Garwolin district. So far 30 truck loads have arrived.

The children are being distributed mainly in Zelechów, Sobolew, Silawa and a number of other

villages

- 4 -

villages /Sobilenie - Jezioro/. A transport consisting of 7 truck loads of children arrived at Chelm. Each truck is guarded by two Gestapo men, who prevent anyone from approaching the children. This transport was later directed to Wlodawa. It is feared that it may have been sent to the famous death camp of Sobibor, which lies on that railway line.

On January the 10th a transport consisting of 8 girls and 6 boys between the ages of 10 months and 13 years reached Warsaw. The children came from Zamosc /a suburb of Majdan/ and from local villages such as Lipsko, Sitaniec and Zdanow. The children relate that after a week at the camp at Zamosc they were taken away from their parents and sent to Sobolew by train, thence by road to Stoczek, where they were put up at the local Institute. After spending several days at Stoczek they were taken by car to Warsaw where they were handed over to the local first aid post. The children were in a terrible state. They are suffering from frostbite, are covered with lice and are exhausted. They all stated that their elder brothers and sisters, in fact all children over the age of 13, were sent direct to forced labour in the Reich.

There is complete chaos in the Lublin district, especially in the Zamosc area. The majority of the population does not wait to be deported, but escapes to the forests so that there are villages where 70 or even 90 per cent. of the population have fled /as for instance Skierbieszow/. And so in the village of only two people remained. Before leaving, the peasants burn and destroy their farms and kill their livestock, and murder individual Germans. Life on the farms has come to a complete standstill.

The problem of deportations has become a bone of contention between Globoenik, the chief organiser of this action, Zietner, the Governor of the Lublin district and the economic chief of this area, Klausen."

Report of March 1st - 15th, 1943

Zamosc district. According to the latest details deportations have taken place in 100 villages and colonies of the Zamosc and Hrubieszow districts. Some 70.000 people have been turned out of their homes. Of these only some 10.000 have passed through the temporary camp at Zamosc. The remainder have either been taken to forced labour in Germany or else - in the majority of instances - have escaped to other localities or to the forests. In the Hrubieszow district, besides those already mentioned, other villages have been evacuated, namely: in the Grabowiec area, Zurawlow, Skoromuchy Duze and Male and some 2.000 people taken from there to concentration camps.

The

The Lublin Radom District: The employees of shops which are being closed down by the Germans are being directed to the Reich.

Report of March 14th - 31st, 1941.

The Majdanek Camp: Conditions at the Majdanek camp are daily going from bad to worse. Owing to an epidemic of typhoid and dysentery as well as influenza with a complete lack of medical supplies and sanitary installation, the death-rate is increasing alarmingly. The camp is being isolated from the outside world and all aid - like food parcels and medical supplies - is nearly impossible. The torturing of prisoners and hours-long parades, in fact the tormenting of prisoners under any pretext, is the daily routine. A tragic atmosphere prevails among the prisoners and many letters are received through illegal channels in which they state that they cannot hold out any longer and they send farewell messages to their families.

The Fate of the Children from the Zamość District:

In March large transports of children arrived in Pomerania. The children were between the ages of four and ten. At the railway stations in Bydgoszcz, Chojnice, Toruń and Gdynia the German sold some of the children to Poles at 40 Reichsmark per child, while others were sent to a special camp at Garozyn near Kościarzyna, whence a number were distributed among local German settlers from Bessarabia, who immediately passed them on to Polish families on receipt of payment. Even now there are some four hundred children at the Garozyn camp. In connection with this child-market there were disturbances and arrests in Garozyn, as great numbers of Poles came from all over Pomerania to buy the children from the Germans. Together with Poles from other districts they do all they can to save the children from destruction and germanisation - by buying them from the Germans.

The Zamość Crime Continues:

During the past week some 1,200 old men and children have arrived at Kaluszyn and Mrozów /the Minsk Mazowiecki district/ from the Lublin and Hrubieszów areas. There are the Poles deported in January and February. Seventy per cent. of this transport consisted of infants and children up to 13 years of age /those over 13 are being sent to forced labour in the Reich/. There is great mortality among the children owing to the terrible living conditions in the Zamość camp. The older people are in a very bad state due to nervous exhaustion.

It

- 6 -

It has been discovered that one such transport passed through Łódź. Another stopped at Kutno where the population bought a number of the children from the Germans. The attitude of the Polish communities throughout the country towards the child-transport is exemplary.

Information Bulletin of March 18th, 1943.

Deportations in the Zamość and Hrubieszów Districts.

According to new calculations some 70,000 people have already been turned out of their homes. Of these only some 10,000 have passed through the temporary camp at Zamość. The remainder have either been sent directly to forced labour camps in the Reich or else /which applies to the majority/ have escaped to other districts or local forests. The deportations are still in progress. They comprise exclusively peasant farms. The larger estates have not been touched so far and the employees remain on the spot.

Among the newly-settled "Volksdeutsche" and Ukrainians there prevails an atmosphere of fear and uneasiness, caused by the destruction of the farms and villages both by organized Polish fighter units as well as by individuals, who destroy their property before leaving. Part of the newly-settled Ukrainians have left the farms assigned to them and returned home. Some of the settlers are endeavouring to bring back the former Polish owners sheltering in the woods, offering them living quarters and work, in order to safeguard themselves against their revenge.

German terrorism in retaliation for setting fire to farms and villages and the killing of German colonists has led to several major mass executions whereby hundreds of men, women and children from a number of villages have been brutally murdered.

The fate of the deported Poles is tragic to say the least of it. Interventions by the Central Council usually have no result whatever. The people's feeding centres organized by the Council are not functioning. The state of health of those detained at the temporary camp at Zamość - is deplorable. The commander of this camp, Hauptsturmführer Rutte, is one of the most cruel of German barbarians.

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PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect ☐ Full rate
☐ Day letter
☐ Night letter

Charge Department ☐ Full rate
☐ Day letter
☐ Night letter

Charge to \$

TELEGRAM SENT
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Department of State
1943 AUG 27 PM 6.50 Washington
August 27, 1943
IN OF
ATIONS

AMERICAN EMBASSY
MOSCOW
758

I handed the Soviet Charge today a copy of the following text of the QUOTE Declaration on German Crimes in Poland UNQUOTE which is to be released simultaneously by the British and ourselves on August 30:

QUOTE Trustworthy information has reached the United States Government regarding the crimes committed by the German invaders against the population of Poland. Since the autumn of 1942 a belt of territory extending from the province of Bialystok southwards along the line of the River Bug has been systematically emptied of its inhabitants. In July 1943 these measures were extended to practically the whole of the province of Lublin, where hundreds of thousands of persons have been deported from their homes or exterminated.

These measures are being carried out with the utmost brutality. Many of the victims are killed on the spot. The rest are segregated. Men from fourteen to fifty are taken away to work for Germany. Some children

Enciphered by _____

Sent by operator _____ M. _____ 19 _____

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-58889-1

740.0016 EUROPEAN WAR 1939/1107A PS/RGB 1107a

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

TELEGRAM SENT

TO BE TRANSMITTED

SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL
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CLEAR
AIRGRAM

Collect Full rate
Day letter
Night letter

Charge Department

Full rate
Day letter
Night letter

Charge to

\$

Department of State

Washington

-2-

children are killed on the spot, others are separated from their parents and either sent to Germany to be brought up as Germans or sold to German settlers or despatched with the women and old men to concentration camps, where they are now being systematically put to death in gas chambers.

The United States Government reaffirms its resolve to punish the instigators and actual perpetrators of these crimes. It further declares that, so long as such atrocities continue to be committed by the representatives and in the name of Germany, they must be taken into account against the time of the final settlement with Germany. Meanwhile the war against Germany will be prosecuted with the utmost vigor until the barbarous Hitlerite tyranny has been finally overthrown. UNQUOTE

The Embassy in London has informed us that the British Foreign Office conveyed this text to the Soviet Government three days ago with the suggestion that the Soviet Government might issue a similar declaration if it saw fit. The foregoing is transmitted for your information, but if you consider it desirable you may forward a copy of the above

Enciphered by

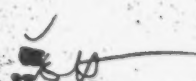
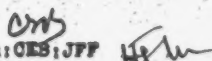
Sent by operator

M.

19

text

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-58888-1

PREPARING OFFICE WILL INDICATE WHETHER		TELEGRAM SENT	TO BE TRANSMITTED SECRET CONFIDENTIAL RESTRICTED CLEAR AIRMAIL
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Charge Department	Full rate Day letter Night letter	-3-	
Charge to	\$	text to the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.	
 			
 NOV 27 1943			
 Eu:CES:JFF			
Enciphered by _____			
Sent by operator _____ M. _____ 19 _____			
U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-58889-1			

HANDOUT D-7.1

NAZI PLANS FOR EASTERN EUROPE

Ihor Kamenetsky

The First Stage of Nazi Colonization, 1939-1941

After the conquest of Poland in 1939 the boundaries of the German Eastern *Lebensraum* became temporarily stabilized on a Soviet-German frontier – approximately along the so-called Curzon Line, which roughly follows the Polish-Ukrainian ethnographic boundary. The peaceful cooperation with the Soviet Union and the warfare in the West forced Hitler to shelve temporarily the plans for the gigantic German Empire and to make the best of the newly acquired provinces of Poland and the Czech Protectorate. Czechs were spared for the time being from large-scale German colonization because their highly efficient economic system and the vital war industries (Skoda Works) would be difficult to replace and because the racial status of the Czech population was as yet not decided by the Nazi authorities.¹ Poland, on the other hand, experienced the fury of German colonization practices in its Western Provinces which, shortly after the September Campaign (1939), were incorporated into the Reich.² This colonization consisted of three different phases: (1) deportation of Polish and Jewish populations from the Western Provinces to the remaining Polish provinces orga-

Taken from: Ihor Kamenetsky. *Secret Nazi Plans for Eastern Europe* (New York: New College and University Press, 1961), pp. 50-53; 88-9; 104-106; 134-6; 139-142; 145-146. Used by permission of New College and University Press, Inc.

¹ I.M.T. Doc. NO-4122, NO-5351; I.M.T. Doc. USSR: Exhibit 60.

² The Incorporated Polish Western Provinces covered an area of 36,117 sq. miles with a population of some 10,740,000 and represented 23.7 percent of the Polish State of 1939; 30.4 percent of its population. Schechtman, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

nized in the *General-Gouvernement*; (2) bringing to Germany the German ethnical groups from abroad; (3) induction of German citizens from the "Old Reich" to settle in the newly incorporated areas.

Deportation of Polish and Jewish populations was decreed by Hitler and the *Reichskommissar* for the Strengthening of Germanism, Himmler, on October 7, 1939.³ It was supplemented by a decree of Field Marshall Goring who, as the head of the German four-year plan, ordered confiscation of the property of all Poles deported or liquidated for hostility towards Germany. Simultaneously he transferred the confiscated property to the *Reichskommissariat* for the Strengthening of Germanism for disposal.⁴

The population destined for deportation was classified according to their occupational and social status and their attitude toward the Germans. Altogether there were five different classes into which the non-German population of the Incorporated Western Provinces was subdivided:

Class-A: The Poles who settled in newly incorporated provinces after October 1, 1918, coming either from Poland proper or from the Reich.

Class-B: Polish intelligentsia – first of all Polish clergy, teachers, physicians, dentists, veterinarians, officers, high-ranking officials, big businessmen, owners of large land estates, writers, editors, and also all those with higher and secondary education. (Exempt were those intermarried with Germans and those friendly to the Germans.)

Class-C: The Poles who worked for the Polish cause.

Class-D: Neutrally inclined Poles – small handcraftsmen, part of the peasantry, low-ranking employees and clerks.

Class-E: Polish agricultural workers.⁵

Of these classes the first three were earmarked for deportation to the *General-Gouvernement*. Class D was regarded as feasible for Germanization and Class E was supposed to be left during the war to assist German farmers but with the definite intention of deporting these "inferior" elements beyond the Reich boundary as soon as German agricultural workers became available.⁶

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The way in which the deportation of the non-German population was carried out by Nazi authorities corresponded completely to their "sub-human theory." The population could not count on a human consideration at the point of deportation, nor were they given any prospect for the future. Without proper notice, the earmarked families were crowded into trains and either dumped in the *General-Gouvernement* or sent to Germany as slave labor. The first transports of deportees in the *General-Gouvernement* were directed to the barrack camps in Radom and Kielce, but later on this practice was discontinued and the Polish evacuees were simply dumped at small railway stations or even on open fields and left to their own devices.¹³ Their compensation, shelter, and means of livelihood never bothered the Germans.

⁵ Departmental Records Branch, TAGO, Alexandria, Va. Doc. RDV/57, *Die Frage der Behandlung der Bevölkerung der ehemaligen polnischen Gebiete nach rassenpolitischen Gesichtspunkten* (Nov. 25, 1939), p. 22. Henceforth referred to as: TAGO Doc.

⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³ *Documents Relating to the Administration of Occupied Countries in Eastern Europe*, New York: Polish Information Center, 1941, p. 11.

HANDOUT D-7.1 (cont.)

Deportations were carried out by SS detachments with only formal supervision by the German civilian administration. The people to be deported received a notice which allowed them between twenty minutes to a few hours' preparation.¹⁴ They were allowed to take only hand luggage weighing from 50 to 100 pounds. No valuables were allowed, and sometimes even gold frames of spectacles and wedding rings were confiscated. Only a restricted amount of money was allowed to be taken, 20 *zloty* (\$3.80) or in exceptional cases 100 (\$19.00) or 200 (\$38.00) *zloty*. The deportees were also compelled to set their own houses in order for the coming German colonists.¹⁵ Any resistance or sabotage of resettlement orders was punished by death.¹⁶

On the whole, the mass deportation of the non-German population from the Western Provinces, which started as early as October 12, 1939, did not encounter much resistance from the Poles. The reason for this may be found in the fact that the Polish population still suffered under the shock of the recent catastrophic defeat. There are other circumstances which must be considered. We must realize that the Polish Underground was only in its early organizational stage and that a coordinated German blow to the Polish upper classes in the settlement area served its purpose at least to a degree.¹⁷

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¹⁴ Polish Ministry of Information, *The German New Order in Poland*, pp. 160, 175.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Documents Relating to the Administration of Occupied Countries in Eastern Europe, p. 9, *op. cit.*

The Search for Germanic Blood

The second objective of the Germanization policy was to secure for the German nation those parts of the Eastern European masses which Nazi authorities regarded as racially "valuable." Action in this direction was conducted under different slogans, such as "bringing the related peoples back into the Germanic family," or "retrieving scattered people of Germanic blood," or to "secure for Germanism some individuals or groups with Nordic qualities." Measures were taken for the purpose of securing within a short time an additional number of 30 million Germans who would help to realize the idea of making the spacious *Lebensraum* solidly German.³⁰ Such slogans were used to rationalize an apparent deviation from the strictly ethnic definition of German nationality.

The earliest attempt to Germanize whole ethnic groups in the East was that attempted in Poland where the Wasserpolen, Masurians, and Kashubes were split off from the Polish nation. Such mass Germanization was less painful than the individual Germanization and more superficial. There were no humiliating interrogations, investigations, checkups, and other usual procedures. Whole villages and townships were simply declared German and the inhabitants had often only to give their names to the local *Ortsgruppenleiter*³¹ for registration.

It meant, of course, the suppression of Polish schools, literature, and press, but similar measures were also applied to the remaining Polish communities.³²

Such mass "Germanization" of whole areas did not give to an individual the social stigma of a

³⁰ I.M.T. Trials, Vol. XXXVII, p. 523.

³¹ I.M.T. Doc. NO-5112 pp. 4-5. Affidavit of a VDA advisor. *Ortsgruppenleiter* — the lowest rank of a Nazi official in charge of a community.

³² TAGO Doc. RVD/57, pp. 10-14.

"traitor." Even the Polish Underground, which usually persecuted individual turncoats, acquiesced in such mass "Germanization," taking into account its forced and superficial character.³³

Another mass Germanization project was planned in the case of the Baltic nations. The original idea went back to Rosenberg's blueprints on the eve of the German Eastern Campaign. He planned the ultimate Germanization of the Baltic States and intended to group them together for this purpose under one administrative unit — Ostland....³⁴

The Policy of Enslavement

The Nazi device for enslavement could be divided roughly into three parts: spiritual, economic, and physical enslavement. It is worthwhile to consider these separately.

Spiritual Enslavement

It was clear to the Nazi leaders that in order to secure an effective control over the Eastern European masses it would be necessary to condition them in such a way as to make their obedience most natural. Working on a premise that the more educated a person is the more conscious he becomes about his rights and the more eager he is to defend them, the Nazis decided to make the Eastern races of Europe as ignorant as possible.

The first specific blueprint, which was applied initially to Poles but later extended to other peoples in the East, contained restrictive stipulations relating to their education.

In the first restrictive order of this kind, dated November 25, 1939, the Polish children were lim-

³³ Stefan Korbonski, *W Imieniu Rzeczypospolitej* (In the name of the Polish Republic), Paris: Institut Litraci, 1954, pp. 136-137.

³⁴ I.M.T. Doc. NO-3457.

HANDOUT D-7.1 (cont.)

ited in their education to the first four classes of elementary school. In the newly Incorporated Western Provinces, all Polish schools were indiscriminately closed¹ and Polish children were allowed to attend the first four classes of German elementary school.² In the rest of Poland (**General-Gouvernement**), Polish four-year elementary schools were allowed to remain open but were to be subject to some strict regulations. Such subjects as history, geography, and history of literature were not to be included in the curriculum. Similarly, physical training was regarded as superfluous for Polish children.³ It was feared that the first group of subjects would stimulate Polish historical traditions and national self-consciousness and might serve to stimulate a rebellious spirit against foreign domination and against slavery. Physical training was to be prohibited because the Nazis thought that sport makes a nation *wehrkraftig* (conditioned for defense) and this, from the Nazi standpoint, was obviously a dangerous asset to the enslaved masses.

Stress was to be put on training in the mechanical, agricultural, and artisan fields, and this education was to be rounded off by basic training in arithmetic, reading, and writing.⁴

Special attention was given to the choice of teachers. No "chauvinistic" Polish teachers were to be employed in the schools, and particular precaution was sounded against the hiring of Polish female teachers, who were supposed to be even more chauvinistic than men.⁵ In the long run, it was planned that positions in Polish schools

should be filled with retired Polish policemen, whose loyalty to the German regime could be proven by their service record.⁶

Other matters concerning Polish education were included in a secret Nazi memorandum by an "expert" on the **General-Gouvernement**, dated January 1940. He again stressed the incompatibility of Polish education with the aims of Nazi policy: "A popular education will not weaken ethnically the Poles; quite the contrary, it will give them a better weapon in their struggle against us."⁷

He stated that it was definitely not in the German interest to give the Poles schools of quality and that the gates of secondary and higher schools should be closed to them. Only those Polish children who possessed qualities for Germanization should be admitted to such schools and then only on an exceptional basis.⁸

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Physical Enslavement

The idea of physical enslavement within the German **Lebensraum** applied first of all to the Eastern peoples which, according to the Nazi experts, could not be absorbed racially within the German Racial Empire. The ideas for such physical enslavement are included in the first three blueprints dealing with the treatment of the alien population in Poland and the alien Eastern peoples generally, which appeared between November 1939 and May 1940.¹³⁸

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ I.M.T. Doc. 661-PS.

⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁸ (a) TAGO Doc. RDV/57, Die Frage der Behandlung der Bevölkerung der ehemaligen polnischen Gebiete nach rassenpolitischen Gesichtspunkten. (b) I.M.T. Doc. 661-PS, Secret Expert Opinion: Legal Construction and Demographic Aspects of German Policy in respect of Poland. (c) I.M.T. Doc. NO-1880, Reflections on the treatment of Peoples of Alien Races in the East.

In the light of these three blueprints there could be distinguished the three main objectives of the slave labor policy during the initial stage of occupation:

(1) The Germans intended to keep a certain amount of Poles (about 50 percent of the Polish population in the Incorporated Polish Provinces) in subordinate and dependent positions in order to maintain an efficient economy in these areas and with the aim of helping the steady flow of new German colonists establish themselves. Denied freedom of movement, deprived of the right to the slightest cultural activities, and segregated like outcasts away from the German dwellings which they could enter only during work, they were reduced to the status of modern helots, and their condition could be compared only to the plight of the Polish Jews suffering similar restrictions (with the exception of cultural activities which were not denied the Jews) in the secluded ghettos in the **General-Gouvernement**.

Even in this form the presence of the Polish "sub-humans" amid the German society was regarded as a temporary measure. They were to be replaced by Germans after the war, and pushed further east to the "sub-human reservations of labor."¹³⁹

(2) The second objective of the Nazi slave labor program was to keep the Polish youth in isolation so as to interfere with the Polish reproductive process. It was to be achieved by the deportation of a certain number of Polish youth as slave labor to Germany, by maintaining indefinitely the Polish PW's and by creating long-term labor battalions of Polish youth. In this way the practice of slave labor would contribute to the German **Lebensraum** policy by decreasing the birth rate, thus resulting in biologically weakening the alien people within the German living space.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Ibid., TAGO Doc. RDV/57, p.23.

¹⁴⁰ I.M.T. Doc. 661-PS.

¹ TAGO Doc. RDV/57, pp. 13-14.

² Ibid., p. 23.

³ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

⁴ Ibid., p. 33.

⁵ Ibid.

HANDOUT D-7.1 (cont.)

(3) The third objective was to have a cheap and obedient labor force which could fulfill the hardest and least gratifying physical work in construction projects in the Eastern Empire. They were to live in special reservations, under primitive economic and cultural conditions.¹⁴¹ The **General-Gouvernement** was the first area earmarked as such a prospective reservation for "sub-humans," but when the German **Lebensraum** expanded after the invasion of the Soviet Union and the **General-Gouvernement** itself was earmarked as the German settlement area, it was Belorussia which was considered as a dumping area for racially unacceptable peoples.¹⁴²

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The Policy of Extermination

"If the Jews do not want to work they must be shot.... They must be treated like tubercle bacilli with which a healthy body may be infected. No, this is not cruel if one remembers that innocent creatures of nature such as hares or deer have to be killed to prevent harm being caused by them.... Nations which failed to rid themselves of the Jews have perished...." (Hitler's dialogue in this discussion with Horthy, *I.M.T.* Vol. X, p. 135, Doc. D-736.)

"The Fuhrer had to emphasize once more that for the Poles there can be just one ruler – the German. There cannot be two Lords side by side; therefore all representatives of the Polish intelligentsia are to be liquidated. It sounds hard but it is the law of life...." (Martin Bormann's Instructions, *I.M.T.* Doc. 172-USSR.)

¹⁴¹ TAGO Doc. RDV/57, pp. 32-35.

¹⁴² *I.M.T.* Doc. 1058-PS.

The Reason for Killing

Though Nazi ideology did not specifically include a positive program of genocide, it had tendencies which when followed consistently made such a program inevitable. This ideology resulted in the destruction of moral inhibitions and a perversion of the general concept of humanity. There was a denial of humanity to the Jews and to the Slavs in Eastern Europe.¹ Further, there was a belief in the survival of the fittest as applied to the nations and the races of the world. The survival of the strongest could be guaranteed only by destroying the weak in this or another way.²

The third determining factor was the conception of the **Lebensraum**. The new living space in Eastern Europe had to be Germanic in its racial composition. The new Germanic model society established in the East had to be "racially best." It was not to be just a dominating Germanic elite ruling a foreign population. It was to become a solid and stratified German society built in the East within which there would be no permanent room for a "racially inferior" native population. The economic significance of the native population was not so great as to justify their existence over the long term. Their extremely primitive standard of life, which had to be enforced for ideological reasons, would hardly make them an important economic asset in terms of trade; and even their value as a labor force was of a limited and temporary character.³ The new Nazi society was not to indulge in the luxury of slave-holding but was supposed to gain its robust, healthy physical stamina by its own physical exertion.⁴

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¹ *I.M.T.* Doc. NO-1805.

² Hitler at Kulmbach, Feb. 5, 1928, edited by Gordon W. Prange (American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, 1944), from the *Volksischer Beobachter*, Apr. 7, 1928, pp. 8-9.

³ *I.M.T.* Doc. 1919-PS. Vol. XXIX, p. 112.

⁴ Speech of the Gauleiter of the Warthegau, Greiser, *Ost-deutscher Beobachter*, May 7, 1941.

Birth Control and Diseases in the Fight Against the Sub-human

In implementing the program of eliminating inferior races, one of the first steps was to arrest the natural increase of undesirable peoples. Nazi leaders believed that healthy biological behavior, sanitary conditions, sufficient food, etc., were essential in building national strength.⁷ By denying such conditions to the inferior peoples the Nazis endeavored to prevent their increase in numbers. As early as November 25, 1939, the Commission for the Strengthening of Germanism issued a circular outlining such a program:

Our medical care should be limited only to preventing the spread of diseases over to the Reich territory. The degree to which medical care is taken of the population by Polish physicians or Jewish medics is not our business; we are also not interested in the further growth of this profession.⁸

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Starvation of the Large Cities and the Countryside

In creating the conditions of an artificial famine, the Nazis found another effective means for reducing the unwanted population in the occupied Eastern Territories. In following this method of reduction, the Nazis showed little originality, being preceded in such practices by the Soviet regime which indulged in staging an artificial famine during the years of collectivization for the purpose of eliminating hostile classes or opposition.

⁷ These were the factors which Nazi Germany tried to foster in Germanic society to bring about its intensive growth.

⁸ TAGO Doc. RDV/57, p. 34.

HANDOUT D-7.1 (cont.)

The most impressive conditions of famine were created by the Nazis in the Ukraine during the first months of German occupation. This famine was brought about by the interception of food deliveries to the large cities of the Ukraine or to those regions of the country which, because of war damages or natural disasters or traditional insufficiency in food, were dependent on imports of foods for survival.

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Extermination Camps

In the intricate system of concentration camps developed by the Nazis, some smaller concentra-

tion camps built for special purposes radiated around the main camps like satellites. Some of them served as transitional camps to confine those destined for the gas chamber; others were designed for the killing of the prisoners by starvation and overwork. One of the most obnoxious "special camps" was the concentration camp "Dora" which specialized in the killing of its inmates by working them to death in the stone quarries. The character of this camp is reflected in a description by Dr. Kahr, a German camp physician, who for disciplinary reasons was transferred to "Dora" camp in 1943. He recollects:

I was sent to Dachau concentration camp as camp physician in the middle of 1943. From there I was transferred for disciplinary reasons to "Dora" concentration camp at Christmas 1943. I was horrified by the

conditions in camp "Dora." The prisoners here lived under the worst conditions of all existing camps. The work of the miners who worked at the mine construction underground was exceedingly hard, and the food was inadequate. There were no living quarters whatsoever for the prisoners. They not only had to work in the galleries inside the mountain, but they also had to sleep and eat there.⁶²

"Dora" was then a camp where the people destined for a short span of life were sent from the other German concentration camps with the definite purpose of annihilation.

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⁶² I.M.T. Doc. NO-1948.

HANDOUT D-7.2

NAZI GERMANIZATION PLANS FOR OCCUPIED POLAND

Himmler's instruction on kidnapping Polish children for Germanization.

Translation of Document No. NO-3188
Office of Chief of Counsel for War Crimes

The Reichsfuhrer SS Journal No. AR/38/8 RF/V (stamp)	Berlin, 18 June 1941 Personal Staff of the Reichsfuhrer SS Central Archives File No. AR/32/14
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1) Reichsstatthalter
SS-Gruppenfuhrer GREISER,

Posen
Schlossfreiheit 13

Dear Party-comrade GREISER,

May I repeat in writing the suggestion I recently submitted orally.

1) I would consider it right if **small children**, of **Polish families**, who show especially **good racial characteristics**, were apprehended and educated by us in special children's institutions and children's homes which must not be too large. The apprehension of the children would have to be explained with endangered health.

2) Children who prove unfit are to be returned to their parents.

3) I suggest that, in order to collect experience, at first a start should be made with only two or three such institutes.

4) After half a year the genealogical tree and documents of descent of those children who prove to be acceptable should be procured. After altogether one year it should be considered to give such children as foster children to childless families of good race.

5) Only the best and racially indoctrinated male and female workers may be appointed chiefs of such institutes.

Heil Hitler!
Signed HIMMLER

HANDOUT D-8.1

STORY OF A SECRET STATE

Jan Karski

The following reading serves as an eyewitness account of the conditions which existed in Nazi-occupied Poland during World War II. This account was written by Jan Karski, a member of the Polish Underground during the Nazi occupation. One of Mr. Karski's important missions as a member of the Underground was to report to the Polish Government-in-exile in London on what he saw, experienced, and was requested to tell about concerning conditions in Poland and other occupied countries of Europe. This reading, taken from *Story of a Secret State* by Jan Karski (1944), describes Mr. Karski's preparations for his mission to report to the Polish Government in London and eventually to President Roosevelt in the United States (1943). For his efforts, Mr. Karski was presented with Poland's highest military order, the Cross of the Virtuti Militari, by Prime Minister General Sikorski.

The Ghetto

Before I was due to leave Poland a meeting was arranged for me — on the order of the Delegate of the Polish Government in London and of the Commander of the Underground Army — with two men who, formerly eminent in the Jewish community, were now directing the work of the Jewish Underground. One was the head of the Zionist organization, the other was the leader of the Jewish Socialist Alliance, the Bund. The latter also had the dangerous and arduous task of directing the work of a special department of the

Delegate of the Polish Government which organized relief for the Jewish population and attempted to smuggle the most valuable inhabitants out of the ghetto.

We met at twilight in a huge, empty, and half-ruined house in the suburbs. The fact that they were both present at the same time was significant. It meant that the material I was to be given to transmit to the Polish and Allied governments contained nothing of a political nature and was not limited to either group. It constituted the expression and contained the information, sentiments, requests, and instructions of the entire Jewish population of Poland as a unit, a population that was at the moment dying as a unit.

What I learned at the meetings we held in that house and later, when I was taken to see the facts for myself, was horrible beyond description. I know history. I have learned a great deal about the evolution of nations, political systems, social doctrines, methods of conquest, persecution, and extermination, and I know, too, that never in the history of mankind, never anywhere in the realm of human relations did anything occur to compare with what was inflicted on the Jewish population of Poland.

The two men were unforgettable, less like men than incarnations of mass suffering and nerves strained in hopeless effort. Both lived outside the ghetto but were able, by secret means, to enter and leave it as they pleased and carry on their work there. Inside the ghetto they looked, talked, and acted like the other inhabitants. To carry on their tasks outside they succeeded in changing their appearance so completely as to go absolutely undetected by the keenest scrutiny. The Bund leader in particular, with his distinguished gray hair and whiskers, ruddy complexion, erect carriage, and general air of good health and refinement, passed easily as a Polish 'nobleman.'

Before the war he had been a well-known law-

yer with an excellent reputation as an expert in criminal law. Now he appeared before the German authorities as the owner of a large store, prosperous, dignified, and unruffled. How great an effort of will this pose must have necessitated I realized later when he accompanied me to the ghetto. The air of well-being and savoir-faire seemed to vanish instantly. The well-groomed Polish merchant underwent a sudden transformation and became a Jew, one of the thousands of wretched, exhausted, starving Jews that the pitiless Nazis tormented and hunted with inhuman vindictiveness.

The first thing that became clear to me as I sat there talking to them in the silence of the darkening Warsaw suburbs was the complete hopelessness of their predicament. For them, for the suffering Polish Jews, this was the end of the world. There was no possible escape for them or their fellows. This, too, was only part of the tragedy, only partially the cause of their despair and agony. They were not afraid of death, itself, and, indeed, accepted it as something almost inevitable. Added to this realization was the bitter knowledge that in this war, for them, there could be no hope of any victory whatsoever, none of the satisfaction which sometimes softens the prospect of death. The Zionist leader made this clear to me at once.

'You other Poles are fortunate,' he began. 'You are suffering, too. Many of you will die, but at least your nation goes on living. After the war Poland will be resurrected. Your cities will be rebuilt and your wounds will slowly heal. From this ocean of tears, pain, rage, and humiliation your country will emerge again but the Polish Jews will no longer exist. We will be dead. Hitler will lose his war against the human, the just and the good, but he will win his war against the Polish Jews. No — it will not be a victory; the Jewish people will be murdered.'

Taken from: Jan Karski. *Story of a Secret State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944), pp. 320-22; 324-5; 329-33; 339-40; 344-51. Copyright, 1944, by Jan Karski. Copyright (c) renewed 1972 by Jan Karski. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

HANDOUT D-8.1 (cont.)

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They offered to take me to the Warsaw ghetto so that I could literally see the spectacle of a people expiring, breathing its last before my eyes. They would take me into one of the many death camps where Jews were tortured and murdered by the thousands. As an eyewitness I would be much more convincing than a mere mouthpiece. At the same time they warned me that if I accepted their offer I would have to risk my life to carry it out. They told me, too, that as long as I lived I would be haunted by the memory of the ghastly scenes I would witness.

I told them that I had to see these things for myself. Soon I hoped to reach the other side of the barricade and to have an opportunity to convince what was left of the civilized world of the facts. Unless I had first-hand acquaintance with what I had to report I did not feel equal to the task.

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Two days later I went to the Warsaw ghetto with the Bund leader and another of the Jewish Underground. The Germans, had, of course, designated the poorest district in Warsaw as the site of the ghetto. The houses were all old and shabby, and no more than two or three stories high. The streets were narrow and without more than a semblance of a pavement or sidewalk. Great gaps had been torn in this collection of hovels by the German bombardment and no repairs had ever been attempted — the heaps of rubble remained as they had fallen. A brick wall about eight feet high had been built around the entire, desolate area, from which all the 'Aryans' had been evacu-

ated and into which more than four hundred thousand Jews had been forced.

I wore an old, shabby suit and a cap pulled down over my eyes. I tried to make myself look very small and thin. At my sides walked two typical inhabitants of the ghetto, wretched-looking, dressed in rags, scrawny and half-starved. We had reached the ghetto by a secret passage that must have been obvious to anyone who scrutinized the district at all carefully.

Adjoining the wall on the outside was a large open court that likewise surrounded nearly the entire ghetto. One of the buildings on this court was so constructed that its front door opened into the Aryan district, while an exit from its cellar led directly into the ghetto. This building gave many Jews the opportunity of contact with the outer world. With bribery, circumspection, a willingness to take the risk of being caught, and a thorough knowledge of the confusing cellars, the passage was comparatively easy. Indeed, at that time, the building had become like a modern version of the river Styx which connected the world of the living with the world of the dead. Now that the Warsaw ghetto no longer even exists, destroyed in the heroic 'defense' my friends had promised, I can mention the building and its cellars with impunity. Now the friendly building can no more help the unfortunate Polish Jews than I can harm them by revealing its secret.

Is it still necessary to describe the Warsaw ghetto? So much has already been written about it, there have been so many accounts by unimpeachable witnesses. A cemetery? No, for these bodies were still moving, were indeed often violently agitated. These were still living people, if you could call them such. For apart from their skin, eyes, and voice there was nothing human left in these palpitating figures. Everywhere there was hunger, misery, the atrocious stench of decomposing bodies, the pitiful moans of dying

children, the desperate cries and gasps of a people struggling for life against impossible odds.

To pass that wall was to enter into a new world utterly unlike anything that had ever been imagined. The entire population of the ghetto seemed to be living in the street. There was hardly a square yard of empty space. As we picked our way across the mud and rubble, the shadows of what had once been men or women flitted by us in pursuit of someone or something, their eyes blazing with some insane hunger or greed.

Everyone and everything seemed to vibrate with unnatural intensity, to be in constant motion, enveloped in a haze of disease and death through which their bodies appeared to be throbbing in disintegration. We passed an old man standing against a wall staring lugubriously and with glassy eyes into space, and although he barely moved from his spot, he, too, seemed to be strangely animated, his body tormented by a force that made his skin twitch in little areas.

As we walked everything became increasingly unreal. The names of streets, shops, and buildings had been printed in the old Hebrew characters. My guides informed me that an edict had been issued forbidding the use of German or Polish for any inscriptions in the ghetto. As a result many of the inhabitants could not read the names at all. From time to time we passed a well-fed German policeman who looked abnormally bloated by contrast with the meagerness of those who surrounded him. Each time one approached we hastened our steps or crossed to the other side as though we had been contaminated.

We passed a miserable replica of a park — a little square of comparatively clear ground in which a half-dozen nearly leafless trees and a patch of grass had somehow managed to survive. It was fearfully crowded. Mothers huddled close together on benches nursing withered infants. Children, every bone in their skeletons showing

HANDOUT D-8.1 (cont.)

through their taut skins, played in heaps and swarms.

'They play before they die,' I heard my companion on the left say, his voice breaking with emotion.

Without thinking – the words escaping even before the thought had crystallized – I said:

'But these children are not playing – they only make-believe it is play.'

We heard the sound of a large number of footsteps rising and falling in unison. A group of about a hundred young men were approaching us. They marched in formation in the middle of the street and were accompanied by policemen. Their clothes were torn and dirty like the rest but they were obviously stronger, better-nourished. The reason was apparent. As they passed us I noticed that each carried a ragged bundle from which protruded the end of a loaf of bread and some green vegetable tips.

Their physical condition was indubitably better than that of their neighbors. But there was something uncanny, robotlike, about their appearance. They walked stiffly. The muscles on their faces seemed to have set rigidly into a mold of habitual, unbroken fatigue. Their eyes were glazed and blank and focused straight ahead as though nothing could distract their attention.

'Those are fortunate,' the Bund leader informed me. 'The Germans still find them useful. They can work repairing roads and tracks. They are protected as long as their hands last and their muscles move. Everyone in the ghetto envies them. We supply as many people as we can with forged documents proving that they hold similar jobs. Otherwise they would be murdered. We have saved thousands of lives this way. But this cannot work much longer.'

Frequently we passed by corpses lying naked in the streets.

'What does it mean?' I asked my guide. 'Why are they lying there naked?'

'When a Jew dies,' he answered, 'his family removes his clothing and throws his body in the street. If not, they have to pay the Germans to have the body buried. They have instituted a burial tax which practically no one here can afford. Besides, this saves clothing. Here, every rag counts.'

I shuddered. A phrase came to my mind which I had heard often and thought I had never fully comprehended till that moment: *Ecce homo* – behold the man.

I saw an old, feeble man staggering along, lurching against the walls of the houses to keep from falling.

'I don't see many old people,' I said. 'Do they stay inside all day?'

The answer came in a voice that seemed to issue from the grave.

'No. Don't you understand the German system yet? Those whose muscles are still capable of any effort are used for forced labor. The others are murdered by quota. First come the sick and aged, then the unemployed, then those whose work is not directly connected with the German war needs, finally those who work on roads, in trains, in factories. Ultimately, they intend to kill us all.'

Suddenly my companions seized my arms. I saw nothing, did not know what was happening. I became frightened, thought I had been recognized. They rushed me through the nearest entrance.

'Hurry, hurry, you must see this. This is something for you to tell the world about. Hurry!'

We reached the top floor. I heard the sound of a shot from somewhere. They knocked at a door. It opened half-way to disclose a white, emaciated face.

'Do your windows face the street?' the leader asked.

'No, the courtyard. What do you want?'

The Bund leader slammed the door shut furiously. He rushed to the opposite door and battered upon it. It opened. He pushed aside a young boy, who ran back into the room with frightened cries. They urged me to the window, pulled down the shade and told me to look through the slit at the side.

'Now you'll see something. The hunt. You would never believe it if you did not see it for yourself.'

I looked through the opening. In the middle of the street two boys, dressed in the uniform of the Hitlerjugend, were standing. They wore no caps and their blond hair shone in the sun. With their round, rosy-cheeked faces and their blue eyes they were like images of health and life. They chattered, laughed, pushed each other in spasms of merriment. At that moment, the younger one pulled a gun out of his hip pocket and then I first realized what I was witnessing. His eyes roamed about, seeking something. A target. He was looking for a target with the casual, gay absorption of a boy at a carnival.

I followed his glance. For the first time I noticed that all the pavements about them were absolutely deserted. Nowhere within the scope of those blue eyes, in no place from which those cheerful, healthy faces could be seen was there a single human being. The gaze of the boy with the gun came to rest on a spot out of my line of vision. He raised his arm and took careful aim. The shot rang out, followed by the noise of breaking glass and then the terrible cry of a man in agony.

The boy who had fired the shot shouted with joy. The other clapped him on the shoulder and said something to him, obviously complimentary. They smiled at each other and stood there for a moment, gay and insolent, as though aware

HANDOUT D-8.1 (cont.)

of their invisible audience. Then they linked their arms and walked off gracefully toward the exit of the ghetto, chatting cheerfully as if they were returning from a sporting event.

I stood there, my face glued to the window. In the room behind me there was a complete silence. No one even stirred. I remained where I was, afraid to change the position of my body, to move my hand or relax my cramped legs. I was seized with such panic that I could not make the effort of will to take a single step or force a word out of my throat. It seemed to me that if I made the slightest movement, if a single muscle in my body so much as trembled, I might precipitate another scene such as I had just witnessed.

I do not know how long I remained there. Any interval could have passed, I was so completely unconscious of time. At length I felt someone's hand on my shoulder. Repressing a nervous start, I turned around. A woman, the tenant of the apartment, was standing there, her gaunt face the color of chalk in the dim light. She gestured at me.

'You came to see us? It won't do any good. Go back, run away. Don't torture yourself any more.'

• • •

To Die in Agony...

A few days after my second visit to the Warsaw ghetto, the Bund leader was to arrange an opportunity for me to see the Jewish death camp.

The camp was located near the town of Belzec about one hundred miles east of Warsaw and was well-known all over Poland from the tales of horror that were circulated about it. The common report was that every Jew who reached it, without exception, was doomed to death. The Bund

leader had never been in it but had the most detailed information on its operations.

I was to go on a day when executions were scheduled. The information was easy to obtain because many of the Estonian, Latvian, and Ukrainian attendants who worked there under Gestapo supervision were in the service of Jewish organizations. Not from any humane or political consideration, but for money. I was to wear the uniform of one of the Estonians who would stay home while I went in with his papers. I was assured that chaos, corruption, and panic prevailed in the camp to such an extent that there was no chance of my disguise being penetrated. Moreover, the whole expedition was perfectly organized in advance. I would go through a door habitually guarded only by Germans and Ukrainians, for an Estonian might sense a stranger in me. The Estonian uniform, itself, constituted a pass, so that my papers would probably not be inspected. To make the camouflage more foolproof, still another bribed Estonian militia man would accompany me. Since I knew German, I could talk with the German guards if it became necessary and they, too, could be bribed.

The plan seemed simple and flawless. I agreed without any hesitation and without the slightest fear of being caught.

Early in the morning of the day we had selected, I left Warsaw in the company of a Jew who worked outside the ghetto in the Jewish underground movement. We arrived in Belzec shortly after midday and went directly to the place where the Estonian was supposed to be waiting to give me his uniform. It was a little grocery store that had once belonged to a Jew. The Jew had been killed and since then it was being run, with the permission of the Gestapo, by a local farmer who was, of course, a member of the Underground.

My Estonian uniform was there waiting for me but the man to whom it belonged had evidently

decided it was more prudent to remain away. Knowing what was in the air, he had decided it was safer not to have his face seen by me since, for all he knew, I might take it into my head to betray him later. However, he had left me in good order a complete outfit: trousers, long boots, a belt, a tie, and a cap. The idea of letting his personal papers be used had apparently given him qualms, too. Instead he had left me the papers of one of his colleagues who had probably returned to his native Estonia a long time ago and had taken the opportunity to sell his papers. I was not surprised. Selling papers was an established business in Poland, not at all frowned upon. The uniform and the shoes fitted me remarkably well but the cap came down to my ears. I stuffed it with papers and squeezed it about till it fitted. Then I asked my companion how I looked. He said I looked like a model Estonian militia man.

An hour or two later the Estonian who was to accompany me arrived. He spoke German so we had no difficulty in understanding each other. My program had not been changed. We would enter through the eastern gate, as planned.

• • •

As we approached to within a few hundred yards of the camp, the shouts, cries, and shots cut off further conversation. I noticed, or thought I noticed, an unpleasant stench that seemed to have come from decomposing bodies mixed with horse manure. This may have been an illusion. The Estonian was, in any case, completely impervious to it. He even began to hum some sort of folk-tune to himself. We passed through a small grove of decrepit-looking trees and emerged directly in front of the loud, sobbing, reeking camp of death.

It was on a large, flat plain and occupied about a square mile. It was surrounded on all sides by a

HANDOUT D-8.1 (cont.)

formidable barbed-wire fence, nearly two yards in height and in good repair. Inside the fence, at intervals of about fifteen yards, guards were standing, holding rifles with fixed bayonets ready for use. Around the outside of the fence militia men circulated on constant patrol. The camp itself contained a few small sheds or barracks. The rest of the area was completely covered by a dense, pulsating, throbbing, noisy human mass. Starved, stinking, gesticulating, insane human beings in constant, agitated motion. Through them, forcing paths if necessary with their rifle butts, walked the German police and the militia men. They walked in silence, their faces bored and indifferent. They looked like shepherds bringing a flock to the market or pig-dealers among their pigs. They had the tired, vaguely disgusted appearance of men doing a routine, tedious job.

Into the fence, a few passages had been cut, and gates made of poles tied together with barbed-wire swung back, allowing entrance. Each gate was guarded by two men who slouched about carelessly. We stopped for a moment to collect ourselves. To my left I noticed the railroad tracks which passed about a hundred yards from the camp. From the camp to the track a sort of raised passage had been built from old boards. On the track a dusty freight train waited, motionless.

The Estonian followed my gaze with the interest of a person seeing what kind of an impression his home made on a visitor. He proceeded eagerly to enlighten me.

'That's the train they'll load them on. You'll see it all.'

We came to a gate. Two German non-coms were standing there talking. I could hear snatches of their conversation. They seemed to

be talking about a night they had spent in a nearby town. I hung back a bit. The Estonian seemed to think I was losing my nerve.

'Go ahead,' he whispered impatiently into my ear. 'Don't be afraid. They won't even inspect your papers. They don't care about the likes of you.'

We walked up to the gate and saluted the non-coms vigorously. They returned the salute indifferently and we passed through, entering the camp, and mingled unnoticed with the crowd.

'Follow me,' he said quite loudly. 'I'll take you to a good spot.'

We passed an old Jew, a man of about sixty, sitting on the ground without a stitch of clothing on him. I was not sure whether his clothes had been torn off or whether he, himself, had thrown them away in a fit of madness. Silent, motionless, he sat on the ground, no one paying him the slightest attention. Not a muscle or fiber in his whole body moved. He might have been dead or petrified except for his preternaturally animated eyes, which blinked rapidly and incessantly. Not far from him a small child, clad in a few rags, was lying on the ground. He was all alone and crouched quivering on the ground, staring up with the large, frightened eyes of a rabbit. No one paid any attention to him, either.

The Jewish mass vibrated, trembled, and moved to and fro as if united in a single, insane, rhythmic trance. They waved their hands, shouted, quarreled, cursed, and spat at each other. Hunger, thirst, fear, and exhaustion had driven them all insane. I had been told that they were usually left in the camp for three or four days without a drop of water or food.

They were all former inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto. When they had been rounded up they were given permission to take about ten pounds of baggage. Most of them took food, clothes, bedding, and, if they had any, money and jewelry.

On the train, the Germans who accompanied them stripped them of everything that had the slightest value, even snatching away any article of clothing to which they took a fancy. They were left a few rags for apparel, bedding, and a few scraps of food. Those who left the train without any food starved continuously from the moment they set foot in the camp.

There was no organization or order of any kind. None of them could possibly help or share with each other and they soon lost any self-control or any sense whatsoever except the barest instinct of self-preservation. They had become, at this stage, completely dehumanized. It was, moreover, typical autumn weather, cold, raw, and rainy. The sheds could not accommodate more than two to three thousand people and every 'batch' included more than five thousand. This meant that there were always two to three thousand men, women, and children scattered about in the open, suffering exposure as well as everything else.

The chaos, the squalor, the hideousness of it all was simply indescribable. There was a suffocating stench of sweat, filth, decay, camp straw and excrement. To get to my post we had to squeeze our way through this mob. It was a ghastly ordeal. I had to push foot by foot through the crowd and step over the limbs of those who were lying prone. It was like forcing my way through a mass of sheer death and decomposition made even more horrible by its agonized pulsations. My companion had the skill of long practice, evading the bodies on the ground and winding his way through the mass with the ease of a contortionist. Distracted and clumsy I would brush against people or step on a figure that reacted like an animal, quickly, often with a moan or a yelp. Each time this occurred I would be seized by a fit of nausea and come to a stop. But my guide kept urging and hustling me along.

HANDOUT D-8.1 (cont.)

In this way, we crossed the entire camp and finally stopped about twenty yards from the gate which opened on the passage leading to the train. It was a comparatively uncrowded spot. I felt immeasurably relieved at having finished my stumbling, sweating journey. The guide was standing at my side, saying something, giving me advice. I hardly heard him, my thoughts were elsewhere. He tapped me on the shoulder. I turned toward him mechanically, seeing him with difficulty. He raised his voice.

'Look here. You are going to stay here. I'll walk on a little further. You know what you are supposed to do. Remember to keep away from Estonians. Don't forget, if there's any trouble, you don't know me and I don't know you.'

I nodded vaguely at him. He shook his head and walked off.

I remained there perhaps half an hour, watching this spectacle of human misery. At each moment I felt the impulse to run and flee. I had to force myself to remain indifferent, practice stratagems on myself to convince myself that I was not one of the condemned, throbbing multitude, forcing myself to relax as my body seemed to tie itself into knots, or turning away at intervals to gaze into the distance at a line of trees near the horizon. I had to remain on the alert, too, for an Estonian uniform, ducking toward the crowd or behind a near-by shed every time one approached me. The crowd continued to writhe in agony, the guards circulated about, bored and indifferent, occasionally distracting themselves by firing a shot or dealing out a blow. Finally I noticed a change in the motion of the guards. They walked less and they all seemed to be glancing in the same direction — at the passage to the track which was quite close to me.

I turned toward it myself. Two German policemen came to the gate with a tall, bulky, SS man. He barked out an order and they began to open the gate with some difficulty. It was very heavy. He shouted at them impatiently. They worked at it frantically and finally whipped it open. They dashed down the passage as though they were afraid the SS men might come after them and took up their positions where the passage ended. The whole system had been worked out with crude effectiveness. The outlet of the passage was blocked off by two cars of the freight train, so that any attempt on the part of one of the Jews to break out of the mob, or to escape if they had had so much presence of mind left, would have been completely impossible. Moreover, it facilitated the job of loading them onto the trains.

The SS man turned to the crowd, planted himself with his feet wide apart and his hand on his hips and loosed a roar that must have actually hurt his ribs. It could be heard far above the hellish babble that came from the crowd.

'*Ruhe, ruhe!* Quiet, quiet! All Jews will board this train to be taken to a place where work awaits them. Keep order. Do not push. Anyone who attempts to resist or create a panic will be shot.'

He stopped speaking and looked challengingly at the helpless mob that hardly seemed to know what was happening. Suddenly, accompanying the movement with a loud, hearty laugh, he yanked out his gun and fired three random shots into the crowd. A single, stricken groan answered him. He replaced the gun in his holster, smiled, and set himself for another roar:

'*Alle Juden, raus — raus!*'

For a moment the crowd was silent. Those nearest the SS man recoiled from the shots and tried to dodge, panic-stricken, toward the rear. But this was resisted by the mob as a volley of shots from the rear sent the whole mass surging

forward madly, screaming in pain and fear. The shots continued without let-up from the rear and now from the sides, too, narrowing the mob down and driving it in a savage scramble onto the passageway. In utter panic, groaning in despair and agony, they rushed down the passageway, trampling it so furiously that it threatened to fall apart.

Here new shots were heard. The two policemen at the entrance to the train were now firing into the oncoming throng corralled in the passageway, in order to slow them down and prevent them from demolishing the flimsy structure. The SS man now added his roar to the deafening bedlam.

'*Ordnung, ordnung!*' he bellowed like a madman.

'Order, order!' The two policemen echoed him hoarsely, firing straight into the faces of the Jews running to the trains. Impelled and controlled by this ring of fire, they filled the two cars quickly.

And now came the most horrible episode of them all. The Bund leader had warned me that if I lived to be a hundred I would never forget some of the things I saw. He did not exaggerate.

The military rule stipulates that a freight car may carry eight horses or forty soldiers. Without any baggage at all, a maximum of a hundred passengers standing close together and pressing against each other could be crowded into a car. The Germans had simply issued orders to the effect that 120 to 130 Jews had to enter each car. These orders were now being carried out. Alternately swinging and firing with their rifles, the policemen were forcing still more people into the two cars which were already over-full. The shots continued to ring out in the rear and the driven mob surged forward, exerting an irresistible pressure against those nearest the train. These unfortunates, crazed by what they had been through, scourged by the policemen, and shoved forward

HANDOUT D-8.1 (cont.)

by the milling mob, then began to climb on the heads and shoulders of those in the trains.

These were helpless since they had the weight of the entire advancing throng against them and responded only with howls of anguish to those who, clutching at their hair and clothes for support, trampling on necks, faces and shoulders, breaking bones and shouting with insensate fury, attempted to clamber over them. After the cars had already been filled beyond normal capacity, more than another score of human beings, men, women, and children gained admittance in this fashion. Then the policemen slammed the doors across the hastily withdrawn limbs that still protruded and pushed the iron bars in place.

The two cars were now crammed to bursting with tightly packed human flesh, completely, hermetically filled. All this while the entire camp had reverberated with a tremendous volume of sound in which the hideous groans and screams mingled weirdly with shots, curses, and bel-lowed commands.

Nor was this all. I know that many people will not believe me, will not be able to believe me, will think I exaggerate or invent. But I saw it and it is not exaggerated or invented. I have no other proofs, no photographs. All I can say is that I saw it and that it is the truth.

The floors of the car had been covered with a thick, white powder. It was quicklime. Quicklime

is simply unslaked lime or calcium oxide that has been dehydrated. Anyone who has seen cement being mixed knows what occurs when water is poured on lime. The mixture bubbles and steams as the powder combines with the water, generating a large amount of heat.

Here the lime served a double purpose in the Nazi economy of brutality. The moist flesh coming in contact with the lime is rapidly dehydrated and burned. The occupants of the cars would be literally burned to death before long, the flesh eaten from their bones. Thus, the Jews would 'die in agony,' fulfilling the promise Himmler had issued 'in accord with the will of the Fuehrer,' in Warsaw, in 1942. Secondly, the lime would prevent decomposing bodies from spreading disease. It was efficient and inexpensive — a perfectly chosen agent for their purposes.

It took three hours to fill up the entire train by repetitions of this procedure. It was twilight when the forty-six (I counted them) cars were packed. From one end to the other, the train, with its quivering cargo of flesh, seemed to throb, vibrate, rock, and jump as if bewitched. There would be a strangely uniform momentary lull and then, again, the train would begin to moan and sob, wail and howl. Inside the camp a few score dead bodies remained and a few in the final throes of death. German policemen walked around at leisure with smoking guns, pumping bullets into anything, that by a moan or motion betrayed an excess of vitality. Soon, not a single one was left alive. In the now quiet camp the only

sounds were the inhuman screams that were echoes from the moving train. Then these, too, ceased. All that was now left was the stench of excrement and rotting straw and a queer, sickening, acidulous odor which, I thought, may have come from the quantities of blood that had been let, and with which the ground was stained.

As I listened to the dwindling outcries from the train, I thought of the destination toward which it was speeding. My informants had minutely described the entire journey. The train would travel about eighty miles and finally come to a halt in an empty, barren field. Then nothing at all would happen. The train would stand stock-still, patiently waiting while death penetrated into every corner of its interior. This would take from two to four days.

When quicklime, asphyxiation, and injuries had silenced every outcry, a group of men would appear. They would be young, strong Jews, assigned to the task of cleaning out these cars until their own turn to be in them should arrive. Under a strong guard they would unseal the cars and expel the heaps of decomposing bodies. The mounds of flesh that they piled up would then be burned and the remnants buried in a single huge hole. The cleaning, burning and burial would consume one or two full days.

The entire process of disposal would take, then, from three to six days. During this period the camp would have recruited new victims. The train would return and the whole cycle would be repeated from the beginning.

HANDOUT D-8.2

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TELEGRAM RECEIVED

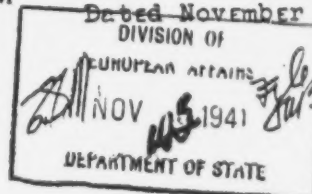
WM

GRAY

Berlin

FROM

Dated November 1, 1941



Secretary of State,
Washington.

3958, November 1, 10 a.m.

862.4016

By decree of Governor General Frank effective October 25 the death penalty is made mandatory for Jews leaving the Ghettoes in the Government General without permission and for persons who harbor them. Hitherto, these offenses were punished by imprisonment or a fine and in severe cases by penal servitude.

The new measure is in accord with the stiffening of anti-Jewish regulations and actions which have been evident throughout German controlled Europe for some weeks. It will presumably affect many of the Jews who are at present being deported to various parts of Poland.

MORRIS

WWC

862.4016/2209

NOV 4 1941

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HANDOUT D-8.2

The following text is a translation of the Nazi Proclamation which appears on the next page (German to English):

Proclamation

Regarding: Death verdict for unauthorized leaving of the Jewish living quarters.

Recently, provable in numerous cases, typhus was spread by Jews, who have left their assigned living quarters. To avert the hereby threatening danger to the population, the Governor General has decreed, that in the future, a Jew who leaves his assigned living quarter unauthorized will be punished with death.

The same punishment will befall those who knowingly grant shelter to those Jews or are helpful in another form (for instance, by granting lodging for the night, food, a ride in a vehicle of any kind, etc.).

The trial will take place through the special Warsaw court.

I expressly call the attention of the whole population of the Warsaw District to this new legal regulation, as from now on it will be proceeded with great severity.

Warsaw, November 10, 1941.

signed Dr. Fischer
Governor
(of the Warsaw District)

The following text is a translation of the Nazi Proclamation which appears on the next page (Polish to English):

Proclamation

1. Concerning: death penalty for unauthorized leaving of Jewish residential neighborhoods.
2. In many confirmed incidences recently, typhus has been spread by Jews who have left their designated residential neighborhoods. In order to forestall the potential danger of infection to the populace in this manner, the Governor General has decreed that a Jew who, in the future, takes unauthorized leave of his

designated residential neighborhood will be punished by death.

3. This penalty also applies to anyone who knowingly gives sanctuary to such Jews or helps them in any other way (i.e., provides night's lodging, maintenance, transports in any manner, etc.).
4. Judgement will take place in the Special Court in Warsaw.
5. I am calling to the attention of the populace of Warsaw and its environs an unequivocal warning that as of this date the promulgated decree will be applied with unmerciful severity.
6. Warsaw, November 10, 1941.

Dr. Fischer
Governor
(Warsaw District)

Translated by: Mr. Walter Kuskowski, teacher,
John Ericsson Junior High School, Brooklyn, NY.

Nazi notice on the execution of the death verdict on the Poles. Names of those executed for hiding Jews have been underlined.

Bekanntmachung

Beh.: Bekanntgabe des unterzeichneten Verzeichnisses der jüdischen Wohnorte.

In der letzten Zeit ist durch Juden, die die ihnen zugewiesenen Wohnorte verlassen haben, in nicht seltenen Fällen unbefriedigend der Wohnort verwechselt worden. Um die Minderheit der Bevölkerung gehörig zu warnen, ist der Herr Gauleiter beauftragt worden, dass in Zukunft die Juden, die den ihnen zugewiesenen Wohnort verließen, mit dem Tode bestraft wird.

Die gleiche Strafe trifft diejenigen, die diese Juden absichtlich unterstützen oder in anderer Weise (z. B. durch Gewährung von Krediten, Verpflegung, Kleidung oder Fährten etc.) den Juden beistehen.

Die Abfertigung erfolgt durch das Stadtmagistrat.

Ich verleihe die gesamte Bevölkerung der jüdischen Wohnorte auf diese neue gesetzliche Regelung aufmerksam zu machen, die sonst mit erheblicher Strafe bestraft wird.

Warschau, den 10. November 1941.

Dr. FISCHER
Gouverneur

Obwieszczenie

Obwieszczenie o obywatelstwie polskim i o obywatelstwie niemieckim.

W sprawie zmian obywatelstwa i o obywatelstwie niemieckim, w sprawie obywatelstwa polskiego i o obywatelstwie niemieckim. Aby zapewnić polskiemu i niemieckiemu obywatelstwu, że jest to obywatelstwo polskie i niemieckie, w tym celu w sprawie obywatelstwa niemieckiego, jest to obywatelstwo polskie.

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Obwieszczenie o obywatelstwie polskim i o obywatelstwie niemieckim.

W sprawie zmian obywatelstwa i o obywatelstwie niemieckim, w sprawie obywatelstwa polskiego i o obywatelstwie niemieckim, w tym celu jest to obywatelstwo polskie i niemieckie.

Warszawa, dnia 10 listopada 1941.

Dr. FISCHER
Gouverneur

OBWIESZCZENIE!

Obwieszczenie o obywatelstwie polskim i o obywatelstwie niemieckim.

1. **Dr. FISCHER** **Dr. FISCHER**, a niemieckie i polskie obywatelstwo.
2. **Dr. FISCHER** **Dr. FISCHER**, a niemieckie i polskie obywatelstwo.
3. **Dr. FISCHER** **Dr. FISCHER**, a niemieckie i polskie obywatelstwo.
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14. **Dr. FISCHER** **Dr. FISCHER**, a niemieckie i polskie obywatelstwo.
15. **Dr. FISCHER** **Dr. FISCHER**, a niemieckie i polskie obywatelstwo.
16. **Dr. FISCHER** **Dr. FISCHER**, a niemieckie i polskie obywatelstwo.
17. **Dr. FISCHER** **Dr. FISCHER**, a niemieckie i polskie obywatelstwo.
18. **Dr. FISCHER** **Dr. FISCHER**, a niemieckie i polskie obywatelstwo.
19. **Dr. FISCHER** **Dr. FISCHER**, a niemieckie i polskie obywatelstwo.
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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Translation of Nazi Proclamation on following page.

The Prefect of the Tarnow District

Proclamation!

For carrying out the resettlement of the Jews which was ordered by the SS-Police chief in Krakow, the following is being proclaimed:

#1

The resettlement of the Jews will take place on September 16, 1942.

#2

Any Pole, who in any way, by his action, endangers or renders difficult the resettlement, or becomes an accomplice in such an action, will be most severely punished.

#3

Any Pole, who during and after the resettlement, harbors or hides a Jew, will be shot.

#4

All passes issued for entering the Jewish living quarters lose their validity from the day of this proclamation. Whoever enters the ghetto in spite of this, will be punished most severely and runs into danger of being shot.

#5

Whoever buys, directly or indirectly, articles from Jews, or receives them as a gift, or acquires them otherwise, will be most severely punished.

Any Pole who is in possession of articles that belong to Jews, is obliged to notify the Security Police in Tarnow immediately about the possession;

otherwise he has to reckon with most severe punishment as a plunderer.

#6

During the transport of the Jews from the Assembly point to the railroad station, it is forbidden to set foot in the streets through which the transport is being led.

The inhabitants of the houses of the streets and squares in question, must close the house doors and windows at the approach of the column and must avoid any kind of observation of the column.

Offenses against this regulation will be punished.

Tarnow, September 15, 1942.

The Prefect of the District
I.V.
Dr. Pernutz

210A HAYA 1900 125B

Der Kreishauptmann
in Tarnow

BEKANNTMACHUNG!

Zur Durchführung der vom SS- und Polizeiführer in Krakau angeordneten Judenausiedlungen wird folgendes bekannt gemacht:

Am 16. IX. 1942 erfolgen Judenausiedlungen.

Jeder Pole, der in irgendeiner Form durch seine Handlung die Ausiedlung gefährdet oder erschwert, oder bei einer solchen Handlung Mithilfe leistet, wird strengstens bestraft.

Jeder Pole, der während und nach der Ausiedlung eines Juden aufnimmt oder versteckt, wird erschossen.

Alle zum Betreten des Judenwohnbezirks ausgestellten Passierscheine verlieren vom Tage dieser Bekanntmachung ihre Gültigkeit. Wer trotzdem das Ghetto betritt, wird strengstens bestraft und leicht Gefährdet erschossen zu werden.

Wer Sachen von Juden unmittelbar oder mittelbar kauft, geschenkt erhält oder sonst erwirbt wird strengstens bestraft.

Jeder Pole, der in Besitz von Juden gekauften Sachen ist, ist verpflichtet, den Besitz sofort bei der Sicherheitspolizei in Tarnow anzuzeigen, widrigenfalls er mit strengster Bestrafung wie ein Plünderer zu rechnen hat.

Während des Transportes der Juden vom Sammelplatz zum Bahnhof ist das Betreten der Straßen verboten, durch welche der Transport geleitet wird.

Die Bewohner der Häuser, die in Betracht kommenden Straßen und Plätze haben bei Annäherung des Zuges die Haustüren und Fenster zu verschließen und jede Art der Beobachtung des Zuges zu unterlassen.

Verstöße gegen diese Anordnung werden bestraft.

OBWIESZCZENIE!

W związku z narzuconymi przez Dowódcę SS i Policji w Krakowie wytycznymi egzekucyjnymi co następuje:

W dniu 16. września 1942 r. odbędzie się wywózka żydów.

Każdy Polek, który w jakikolwiek sposób utrudni akcję wywózki, podlega najcięższemu karom.

Każdy Polek, który podczas lub po akcji wywózki przyjmie żydów lub udzieli im schronienia, zostanie rozstrzelany.

Przepraszki, sprowadzające do wiadomości do dzialnicy żydowskiej tacy wiadomości z chwilą ukazania się niniejszego obwieszczenia. Osoby, które pomimo tego do dzialnicy żydowskiej wchodzi, podlegają surowym karom i następują one na zastawienie.

Kto jakikolwiek rzeczy bezpodstawnie czy pochwycił od żydów kupuje, w podarunku odbiera albo w inny sposób uchodzi w posiadanie rzeczy, podlega surowym karom.

Każdy Polek, znajdujący w posiadaniu rzeczy, stanowiących własność żydów, obowiązany jest jako posiadacz zgłosić natychmiast w Policji Bezpieczeństwa w Tarnowie, gdyż w przeciwnym razie będzie traktowany jako łajdak i podlega najcięższemu karom.

Podczas transportu żydów z placu zbiórki na dworzec kolejowy zostaje dostęp dla ludności wstrzymany na ulicy i placu, przez który transport przechodzić będzie.

Przez zbliżenie się transportu do danych ulic, mieszkańcy powinni zamknąć bramy wejściowe domów oraz ulic i zmierzać do swych domów.

Naruszenia powyższych przepisów podlegają surowym karom.

Tarnów, dnia 16. września 1942.

Der Kreishauptmann
Dr. PERNUTZ.

DR. PERNUTZ, 111 KRAKÓW 4, TARNÓW

HANDOUT D-9

EINSATZGRUPPEN

While the mobile killing units were at work in the Ukraine, a German civilian, serving as a construction engineer, happened to be on the scene when the ghetto in Dubno was wiped out. After the war, Hermann Graebe testified to what he had seen.

On October 5, 1942, when I visited the building office at Dubno, my foreman, Hubert Moennikes told me that in the vicinity of the site, Jews from Dubno had been shot in three large pits, each about 30 meters long and 3 meters deep. About 1,500 persons had been killed daily. All of the 5,000 Jews who had been living in Dubno before the pogrom were to be liquidated. As the shootings had taken place in his presence, he was still much upset.... Moennikes and I went directly to the pits. Nobody bothered us. Now I heard rifle shots in quick succession, from behind one of the earth mounds. The people who had got off the trucks — men, women, and children of all ages — had to undress upon the order of an SS man who carried a riding or dog whip. They had to put down their clothes in fixed places, sorted according to shoes, top clothing, and underclothing. I saw a heap of shoes of about 800 to 1,000 pairs, great piles of underlinen and clothing. Without screaming or weeping, these people undressed, stood around in family groups, kissed each other, said farewells and waited for a sign from another SS man, who stood near the pit, also with a whip in his hand.

During the fifteen minutes that I stood near the pit, I heard no complaint or plea for mercy. I watched a family of about eight persons, a man and woman, both about fifty, with their children of about one, eight, and ten, and two grown-up daughters of about twenty and twenty-four. An old

woman with snow white hair was holding the one-year-old child in her arms and singing to it and tickling it. The child was cooing with delight. The couple were looking on with tears in their eyes. The father was holding the hand of a boy about ten years old and speaking to him softly; the boy was fighting his tears. The father pointed toward the sky, stroked his head, and seemed to explain something to him. At that moment the SS man at the pit shouted something to his comrade. The latter counted off about twenty persons and instructed them to go behind the earth mound. Among them was the family which I have mentioned.

I well remember a girl, slim with black hair, who, as she passed close to me, pointed to herself and said, "Twenty-three." I walked around the mound, and found myself confronted by a tremendous grave. People were closely wedged together and lying on top of each other so that only their heads were visible. Nearly all had blood running over their shoulders from their heads. Some of the people shot were still moving. Some were lifting their arms and turning their heads to show that they were still alive. The pit was already two-thirds full. I estimated that it already contained about a thousand people.

I looked for the man who did the shooting. He was an SS man, who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into the pit. He had a tommy gun on his knees and he was smoking a cigarette. The people, completely naked, went down some steps which were cut in the clay wall of the pit and clambered over the heads of the people lying there, to the place where the SS man directed them. They lay down in front of the dead or injured people; some caressed those who were still alive and spoke to them in a low voice. Then I heard a series of shots.

I looked into the pit and saw that the bodies were twitching or the heads lying already motionless on top of the bodies that lay before them. Blood was running from their necks. I was surprised that I was not

ordered away, but I saw that there were two or three postmen in uniform nearby. The next batch was approaching already. They went down into the pit, lined themselves up against the previous victims and were shot.

When I walked back, around the mound, I noticed another truckload of people which had just arrived. This time it included sick and infirm people. An old, very thin woman with terribly thin legs was undressed by others who were already naked, while two people held her up. The woman appeared to be paralyzed. The naked people carried the woman around the mound. I left with Moennikes and drove in my car back to Dubno.

On the morning of the next day when I again visited the site, I saw about thirty naked people lying near the pit — about 30 to 50 meters away from it. Some of them were still alive; they looked straight in front of them with a fixed stare and seemed to notice neither the chilliness of the morning nor the workers of my firm who stood around. A girl of about twenty spoke to me and asked me to give her clothes and help her escape. At that moment we heard a fast car approach and I noticed that it was an SS detail. I moved away to my site. Ten minutes later we heard shots from the vicinity of the pit. The Jews still alive had been ordered to throw the corpses into the pit then they themselves had to lie down in this to be shot in the neck. (End of Testimony)

By the end of the winter of 1941-42, more than 90 percent of the Jews trapped by the Germans east of the Soviet border were dead. The extermination of men, women, and children did not disturb Hitler. "Nature is cruel," he said. "Therefore, we, too, may be cruel. If I don't mind sending the pick of the German people into the hell of war without regret for the shedding of valuable German blood, then I have naturally the right to destroy millions of men of inferior races who increase like vermin."

Taken from: International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, Germany. PS-2992, November 10, 1945.

THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Between 1939 and 1945, six million unarmed and innocent Jewish civilians - men, women, children and babies - were murdered in Nazi-controlled Europe, as part of a deliberate policy to destroy all traces of Jewish life and culture. As many as two million of these were killed in their own towns and villages, some confined in ghettos where death by slow starvation was a deliberate Nazi policy, others taken to be shot at mass-murder sites near where they lived. The remaining four million Jews were forced from their homes and taken by train to distant concentration camps, where they were murdered by being worked to death, starved to death, beaten to death, shot, or gassed.

• Editor's Note: Poles as well as people from 30-50 other nations also died at Auschwitz.



Taken from: Martin Gilbert. Maps from The Holocaust. Copyright (c) 1978 by Martin Gilbert. Reprinted by permission of Hill and Wang, a division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc.

HANDOUT D-11

HITLER'S SS

Richard Grunberger

Two German terms, soon to enter every civilized language, became shorthand for this purification ("Final Solution"): KZ (short for **Konzentrationslager**, or concentration camp) and Gestapo (short for **Geheime Staatspolizei** or secret state police).

The seizure of power was accompanied by the rounding up, maltreatment and torture (often ending in death) of thousands of anti-Nazis. Arrested by the Gestapo, or police 'auxiliaries,' these prisoners, for whom the existing police jails proved inadequate, were lodged in concentration camps. In 1933 neither the Gestapo nor the concentration camps were the streamlined institutions they subsequently became and their control was disputed between Nazi administrators, the SA and the SS. Local *Gauleiters* and SA leaders set up so-called 'wild' concentration camps, and on occasion—as at Papenburg camp near Osnabrück—rival agencies of the Nazi regime fought virtual pitched battles in disputes over the running of camps.

In March 1933 Himmler became Police President of Munich, with Heydrich as his assistant; June saw the creation of Dachau concentration camp—model for all subsequent Nazi hells on earth.

Camp routine, enforced by SS and SA men, whose only *alma mater* had been the drill-hall, was a sadistic perversion of military training. KZ inmates had to answer roll-calls, salute, stand to attention, report themselves present, and proceed at the double—and to endure the vilest

forms of barrack-square abuse in the process. For breach of regulations they were liable, according to the official disciplinary code, to undergo any of the following: punitive labour, punitive drill, extended roll-calls, confiscation of mail, reduction of rations, solitary confinement, confinement in the dark, incarceration in a stand-up cell, twenty-five strokes on the posterior (covered or bare), suspension from a pole by the wrists, transfer to a punishment battalion, death by shooting or by hanging.

The first commandant of Dachau was Theodor Eick, whom Himmler had a little earlier sprung from Würzburg psychiatric clinic, to which *Gauleiter* Burckel had consigned him—in a strait-jacket—as a lunatic constituting a public danger....

The guards at Dachau—enrolled in the so-called Death's Head units—were largely drawn from the lowest stratum of Bavarian society: morose and brutalized peasant types who in a period of reviving employment looked to SS service as a socially acceptable (not to say prestigious) means of avoiding honest labour. Irascibly primitive, these Dachau guards nursed a particular animus against intellectuals and Jews (two partly overlapping categories), and prisoners with academic titles or an offensively scholarly mien—such as wearers of spectacles—elicited even more vicious reactions from them than others....

As far as the outside world went, the SS arranged things so that the German public's knowledge about concentration camps was simultaneously—and paradoxically—both widespread and patchy. Though all Germans were vaguely aware of their existence, concentration camps remained taboo topics surrounded by secrecy and dread. But since total secrecy would have detracted from the value of the camps as deterrents, a minimal supply of information about what went on behind those electrified barbed-wire en-

tanglements, searchlights and machine-gun towers was allowed to reach the outside world. Thus, the stereotyped formula, 'shot while trying to escape,' behind which official announcements (on the inside pages of newspapers and in communications to next-of-kin) camouflaged the premeditated murder of camp inmates, soon passed into common usage as a universally understood cynical euphemism.

• • •

Before the annexation of Austria, concentration-camp labour had been largely employed in the construction and enlargement of the camps themselves and of the adjacent SS buildings. After the *Anschluss* Himmler decided to use his unprecedented labour resources as a new source of enrichment and economic power. To the expropriation of the wealth of Jewish inmates (which the SS either confiscated outright or acquired through blackmail and the solicitation of bribes) he added a higher dimension of profitability by the impressment of prison labour in quarrying, road-building and other construction work, market gardening, handicrafts, and (later on) the manufacture of armaments.

Even though the guards would contrive to make the apparently most innocuous assignments lethal—emaciated 'market gardeners' manhandling heavy wheelbarrows would be beaten when they stumbled, and sometimes drowned in pits of liquid manure—a prisoner's chances of survival naturally varied according to the nature of his work. Assignment to quarrying and construction work was tantamount to a briefly suspended death sentence, whilst handicraft jobs—particularly those catering to the needs of SS camp personnel—might even procure privileges for individual prisoner craftsmen.

Take from: Richard Grunberger. *Hitler's SS* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970), pp. 21, 23, 45-46, 81-84. Reprinted by permission of Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Ltd. London, England, publishers.

HANDOUT D-11 (cont.)

Mauthausen had been a stone quarry on the edge of the picturesque Salzkammergut lake region near Salzburg; conversion into a KZ meant levelling a wooded hillside and building huge granite walls. Within the circle of megaliths, death was applied by pre-industrial means: SS guards would push human chains of prisoners over the precipitous edges of the quarry – a practice which so disconcerted the civilian quarry workers who had been kept on that they complained to the camp administration about the unsightliness of the human remains bespattering the rock face.

• • •

Huge **Judenreservate** were created during 1940-1, when Poland's three million Jews were inexorably herded into a few unimaginably overcrowded ghettos – in Warsaw, Cracow, Lodz, Bialystok. 'Natural wastage' had already eliminated half a million ghetto dwellers before Hitler's final escalation of the war, the attack on Russia, created the setting for the climax of the Jewish catastrophe. Three months before Operation Barbarossa, the Fuhrer instructed Himmler – in the notorious 'Commissars' Order' – to set up **Einsatzgruppen** (killer units) for the 'ruthless liquidation of all Bolshevik agitators, partisans, saboteurs and Jews found behind the Russian lines.'

Though Jews figured last in this order they provided the main quarry for the three-thousand-strong, highly mobile **Einsatz** commandos who scoured the vast area between the Gulf of Finland and the Black Sea on the heels of the advancing Wehrmacht. The Baltic States, White Russia and the Ukraine were areas of dense Jewish settlement; moreover, the lightning German advances

during 1941 overran communities which Soviet censorship had – particularly since the Russo-German Pact of August 1939 – long kept in ignorance of the fate of their fellow-Jews under Nazi rule.

In these circumstances the tasks of the **Einsatzgruppen** were reduced to simple logistics: the round-up of the Jews in a village or town square, their transport to a secluded site traversed by a deep ditch, and, spaced correctly, their lining-up in the executioner's gun-sights. The ideal, rationalized solution was one whereby successive line-ups neatly produced layer upon layer of bodies in the ditch, which was then covered over with earth.

This economy of effort, though influenced by the smallness of the 'force,' basically reflected the built-in economic orientation of the Nazi machinery of death: before stepping to the edge of the mass grave, victims had to undress and place their clothes, shoes, valuables and other belongings in separate files for subsequent – rational – utilization.

In all, the **Einsatzgruppen** liquidated an estimated 1,300,000 Jews, which, considering the 1 : 430 ratio of hunters to hunted, speaks volumes for their tireless dedication and efficiency. This score remains staggering even after allowances are made for the supporting role of German soldiers or local volunteers – no less than for the competitive spirit which made **Einsatz** group commanders inflate their death tallies to outpace colleagues and impress superiors at RSHA, Berlin.

• • •

Within the next few months (1942) four gas-chamber complexes – Belzec, Sobibor, Majdanek and Treblinka – sprang up in the Lublin

region, a vast reception area for deported Jews administered by Gruppenfuhrer Odilo Globocnik. Globocnik's aide in charge of the actual death camp organization was Christian Wirth, who had supervised the euthanasia campaign. Like all who had risen high in the SS **Apparat**, Wirth was surrounded by powerful enemies, some of whom – unfortunately for him – were present at Belzec one August day in 1942 when the following scene occurred:

'At 7:20 a.m. a train arrived from Lemberg (Lwow) with 45 wagons holding more than 6,000 people. Of these 1,450 were already dead on arrival. Behind the small barbed-wire windows, children, young ones, frightened to death, women and men. As the train drew in 200 Ukrainians detailed for the task tore open the doors and laying about them with their leather whips drove the Jews out of the cars. Instructions boomed from a loud-speaker ordering them to remove all clothing, artificial limbs and spectacles. Using small pieces of string handed out by a little Jewish boy they were to tie their shoes together. All valuables and money were to be handed in at the valuables counter but no voucher or receipt was given. Women and girls were to have their hair cut off in the hairdresser's hut.

'At the corner stood a burly SS man with a loud, priest-like voice. "Nothing terrible is going to happen to you. All you have to do is to breathe in deeply. That strengthens the lungs. Inhaling is a means of preventing infectious diseases." They asked what was going to happen to them. "The men will have to work building houses and roads. But the women won't be obliged to do so; they'll do housework or help in the kitchen." For some this was a last small ray of hope, enough to carry them, unresisting, as far as the chambers of death. Most of them knew the truth. The odour told them what their fate was to be. They walked up a small flight of steps and into the death chambers, most of them without a word, thrust forward by those behind them.

HANDOUT D-11 (cont.)

Inside the chambers SS men were crushing the people together. "Fill them up well," Wirth had ordered, "700 or 800 of them to every 270 square feet." Now the doors were closed. Meanwhile the rest of the people from the train stood waiting, naked.

An SS sergeant, the driver of the diesel truck whose exhaust gases were to be used, was making great efforts to get the engine running, but it refused to start. Fifty min-

utes, seventy minutes ticked away but the diesel would not work. Inside the gas chamber the people could be heard weeping. Furious at the delay Wirth lashed out with his whip at the Ukrainian assisting the SS sergeant.

It was 2 hours and 49 minutes before the diesel started. At the end of another 32 minutes all were dead. Inside the people were still standing erect like pillars of basalt, since there had not been an inch of space for them to fall in or even lean. The bodies were

tossed out, blue, wet with sweat and urine, the legs soiled with feces and menstrual blood. A couple of dozen workers checked the mouths of the dead, which they tore open with iron hooks. Other workers inspected anus and genital organs in search of money, diamonds, gold, dentists moved around hammering out gold teeth, bridges and crowns. In the midst of them stood Hauptsturmfuhrer Wirth, in his element.'

HANDOUT D-12.1

MEMORIAL SITE CONCENTRATION CAMP DACHAU

Guide: On March 22, 1933, the first German concentration camp was set up near Dachau on the grounds of a former ammunition factory. Political opponents, Jews, clergymen and so-called undesirable elements were to be isolated here as enemies of the National Socialist regime. In 1937, the camp originally planned for 5,000 persons proved to be too small. The prisoners had to build a larger camp which was completed in 1938. The camp office files show a total of more than 206,000 prisoners, registered between 1933 and 1945. In addition, however, many prisoners were taken to Dachau without being registered. The exact figures are unknown.

1. On each side of the "Lagerstrasse" (the main camp road lined with poplar trees, planted by the prisoners)

2. stood fifteen Wohnbaracken so-called Blocks (barracks to house the prisoners), two infirmary barracks, a canteen and a workshop barrack. Each Wohnbaracke was divided into four Stuben (a living room and dormitory unit). Two of these Stuben had to share one wash room and the lavatory. One Stube was to accommodate 52 prisoners, i.e., 208 prisoners per barrack.

Upon the violent expansion of the Third Reich, large numbers of prisoners from the newly occupied European countries arrived in Dachau without interruption. The camp became so overcrowded that up to 1,600 prisoners had to live in one barrack.

The concrete remains of the former huts on either side of the camp road are marked with the hut numbers.

Taken from: *Memorial Site Concentration Camp Dachau*, Publication of the International Committee of Dachau.

3. Every morning and evening the prisoners had to parade on the Appellplatz (roll call square). If a prisoner succeeded to escape, all inmates were ordered to attend the subsequent Strafpell (punishment roll call), lasting a full night and half a day.

4. The Jourhaus was the only entrance to the camp. Arbeit macht frei (Work makes one Free) was the slogan the prisoners saw on the gate as they came in. On either side were the S.S. guard rooms. The offices of the camp administration were located on the first floor.

5. The Wirtschaftsgebaude (now the museum) contained the kitchen, the laundry, storage rooms for prisoners' clothing and personal belongings, and the notorious shower baths where the S.S. would torture prisoners by flogging and hanging them at the stake.

6. The Revierbaracken (the infirmary barracks) were located at the very beginning on the right hand side of the Lagerstrasse. An alarming increase in disease and epidemics necessitated the extension of the infirmary from two to thirteen barracks after 1939.

The experimental station of Dr. Rascher was set up in Block 5 where high pressure and exposure experiments were practiced on defenseless prisoners. Prof. Schilling had prisoners infected with malaria agents. Bio-chemical experiments were also carried out in Dachau. Many of these experiments resulted in death.

7. The Totenkammer (the morgue) was permanently crammed with corpses. According to the files of the International Tracing Service, 31,951 prisoners died in the Dachau concentration camp. An additional number of a few thousand prisoners who had not been registered at all, were killed by shooting.

8. The Strafblocke (the penal barracks) were to isolate the Strafkompagnien (pe-

nal companies) from the adjoining barracks by barbed wire.

These so-called second timers had been arrested again after their previous release from camp. They were earmarked by the S.S. and the Gestapo for especially severe treatment.

9. The arrested clergymen lived in Blocks 26, 28, and 30, the so-called Priesterblocks. Polish clergy were confined to Blocks 28 and 30.

10. Kantine (the canteen).

11. Desinfektionsbaracke (the disinfection barrack)

12. Lagergartnerei (the camp's market-garden)

13. The Graben (ditch), the Stacheldrahthindernis (a live barbed-wire obstacle) and the Lagermauer (wall surrounding the camp) lit up at night.

14. When a prisoner stepped on the strip of grass, eight meters (27 feet) in front of the ditch, the S.S. guards in the Wachturme (guard towers) shot him without warning.

15. Behind the Wirtschaftsgebaude was the Lagerarrest Bunker (the camp prison). Flogging, punishment at the stake and executions were carried out in the yard of this Bunker.

16. The mortality rate among the prisoners increased rapidly. The crema- (Baracke X) had to be built by prisoners in 1942. Upon orders of the S.S. Wirtschaftsverwaltungshauptamt (S.S.-Economic-Administrative-Main Office) in Berlin a gas chamber was installed. This gas chamber, camouflaged as a shower room, was not used.* The prisoners selected for gassing were transported from Dachau to the Hartheim Castle, near Linz (Austria) or to other camps. In Hartheim alone, 3,166 pris-

* Note: According to the official report of Col. Walter J. Fellenz, Commanding Officer of the liberating unit at Dachau, there were six gas chambers and five crematoriums at Dachau. The U.S. Army Signal Corps reported that these gas chambers were used.

HANDOUT D-12.1 (cont.)

oners were gassed between January, 1942 and November, 1944.

17. Approximately 6,000 Russian prisoners of war were executed on the S.S. Schiessplatz (rifle range).

18. 7,500 prisoners, representing all occupied-European nations, who died

shortly before their liberation, are buried on the Leitenberg.

19. The last 1,230 prisoners who died in the concentration camp of Dachau were buried in the Waldfriedhof (the cemetery of the town of Dachau).

20. The Catholic Todesangst Christi Kapelle built in 1960.

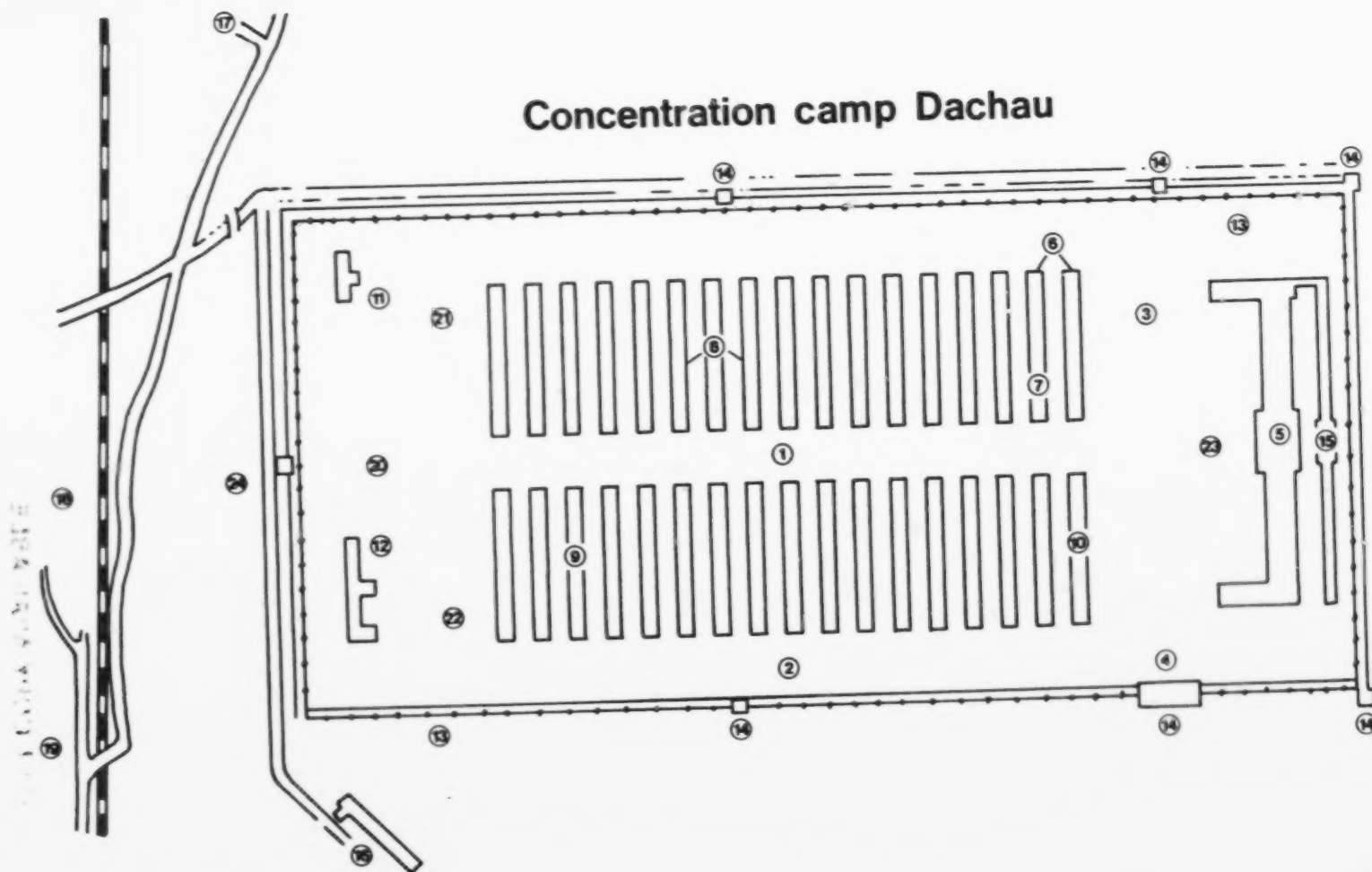
21. The Jewish Memorial Temple, built in 1965.

22. The Protestant Memorial Church, built in 1965.

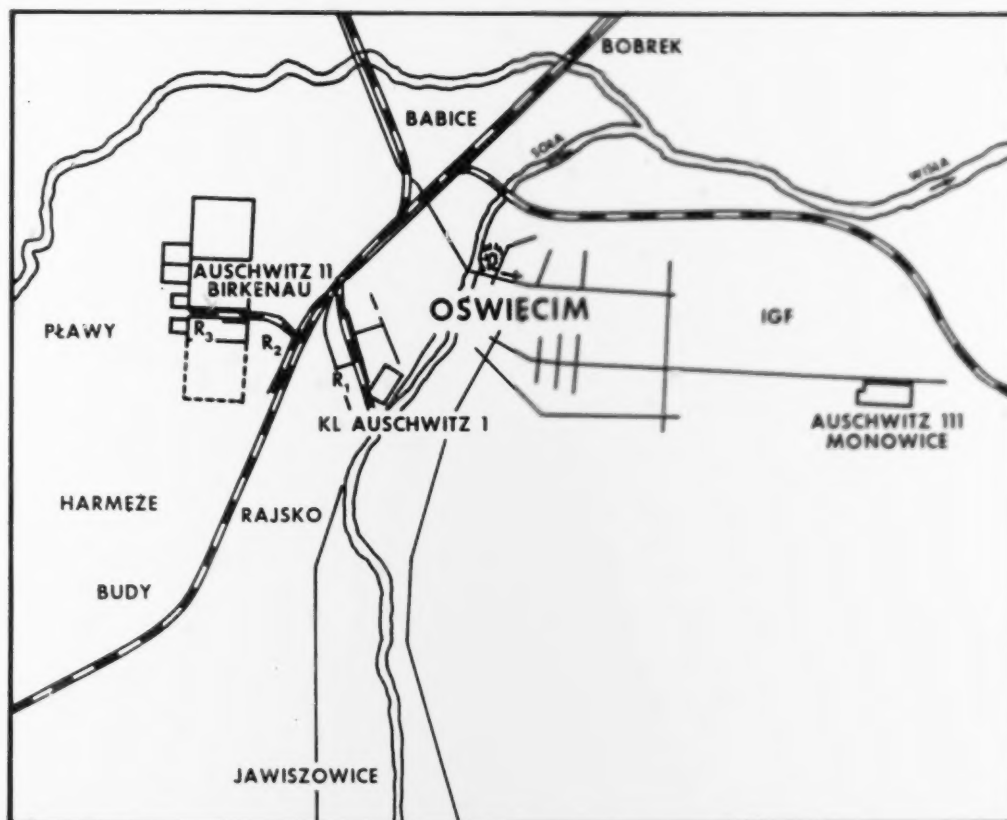
23. International Memorial, built in 1968.

24. Carmelite convent, built in 1964.

Concentration camp Dachau



Map taken from: Memorial Site Concentration Camp Dachau. Comité International de Dachau.



The Auschwitz camp complex

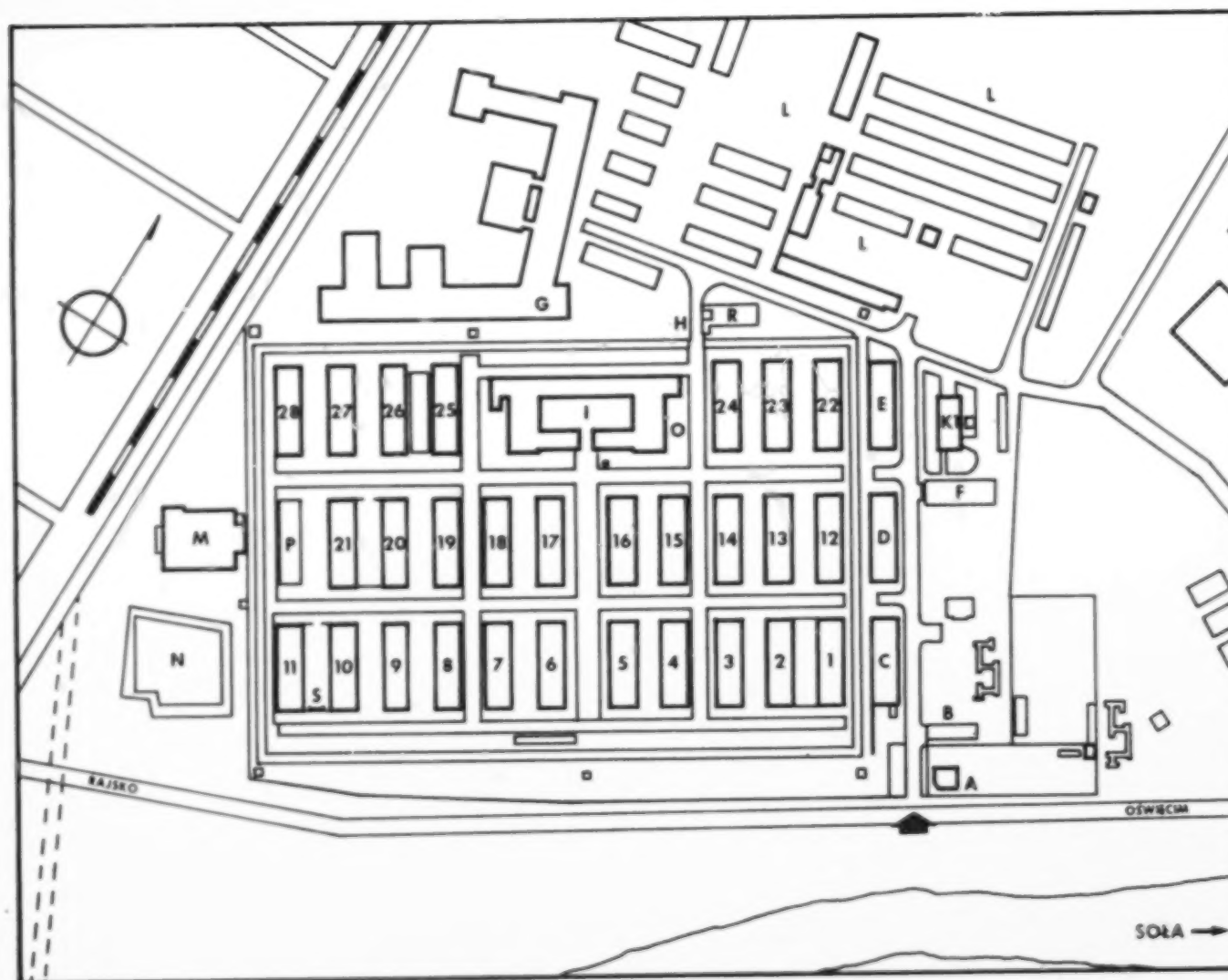
- R₁—railway siding at KL Auschwitz I
 R₂—railway siding at which Jewish transports were unloaded (the Judenrampe)
 R₃—railway siding inside the Auschwitz II camp (Birkenau)
 IGF—site of the IG Farben works

KL Auschwitz I embraced the main camp.

KL Auschwitz II comprised all the camps at Brzezinka and the branch camps attached to farms.

KL Auschwitz III comprised the ten branch camps at Monowice, Jaworzno, Jawiszowice, Świętochłowice, Łagisza, Wesola near Mysłowice, Goleszów, Libiąż, Sosnowiec and Brno.

HANDOUT D-12.2
KL AUSCHWITZ



KL Auschwitz 1

- A camp commandant's house
- B main guardhouse
- C camp headquarters offices
- D camp administrative offices
- E hospital for the SS
- F offices of the Political Department (camp Gestapo)
- G reception building (Aufnahmehaus)
- H entrance gate with the inscription 'Arbeit macht frei'
- I kitchen
- K1 gas chamber and Crematorium I
- L store rooms and workshops
- M warehouse containing possessions left behind by murdered prisoners
- N gravel pit - place of execution
- O place where camp orchestra played
- P SS laundry
- R Blockfuhrer's guardhouse
- S Execution Wall
- 1-28 blocks of prisoners' quarters

HANDOUT D-12.3

AUSCHWITZ 1940-1945

Kazimierz Smolen

As soon as Hitler's Army had penetrated into the Oswiecim (Auschwitz) territory, Polish since the Piast kings of Poland, several special SS commissions inspected it thoroughly. Their task was to find a suitable place for establishing a concentration camp at Zasole, one of the suburbs of Auschwitz. The initiative for the establishment of the camp originated in the Office of the High Command of SS and Police in Wroclaw. **SS-Gruppenführer** Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski stood at the head of the Office, while Gestapo inspector **SS-Oberführer** Arpad Wigand was his subordinate officer. Wigand suggested that the necessity of performing mass arrest among the Poles in Silesia and in occupied Poland (which the Germans then called General-Gouvernement-GG) made the existence of such a camp imperative. Rudolf Hoess, then manager of the camp at Sachsenhausen, took part in one of the inspections. In April 1940 the order to establish the concentration camp at Auschwitz was issued. Rudolf Hoess was nominated the camp commandant. The Nazis sent the first transport of Poles to "**Konzentrationslager Auschwitz**" on June 14, 1940.

Entrance to the Former Camp

Deserted watch towers no longer display machine guns, the shouts of the guards are heard no more, nor do we hear the trampling of the sen-

Taken from: Kazimierz Smolen. *Auschwitz 1940-1945, Guide-Book Through the Museum*, (Panstwowe Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 1976), pp. 7-9; 19-35; 38-9; 42-52; 62-4; 66-8; 86; 88-9. Used by permission of the Consulate General of Poland.

The editor would like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Roman F. Iwanski for providing this material on Auschwitz.

tries' boots at the times of changing the guard. Thousands of emaciated prisoners, clad in striped prison clothes, no longer haunt the world's greatest battlefield, for such certainly Auschwitz had been, if we take into consideration the number of those who had died there.

Every few steps notice boards with the words "**Halt-Stoj**" and with the cross bones remind us that the barbed wire fences used to be charged with electric current and touching them meant instantaneous death.

The wooden barrack, which once housed the camp manager's office, the employment section, the censor's office and the office registering new arrivals, is empty today. A flower-bed in front of it reminds us, however, that prisoners used to tend flowers there, which was to show the world that the Nazis were fond of nature and orderliness!

For the same reason the Nazis had not removed the birch tree growing at the entrance to the camp. For people brought to the camp, this was the place where they stood in their own clothes for the last time, while the warder on duty (**Blockführer**) confronted his list with the actual number of the newcomers. There the SS man still called the name of the prisoner, not his camp number. Tens of thousands of men and women from every European country under Nazi occupation passed the birch tree and were conducted inside the fences.

Trying to dodge the blows inflicted on them by the SS men, the prisoners observed then, with sinking hearts, what was going on in the camp. There, against the wall of the building marked with the number "24" some ten or twelve figures in striped clothing were seen, standing quietly, their faces turned to the wall.

On the right, a barrack with many chimneys. The newcomers could not help associating the chimneys with the crematoria which were to be found in every Nazi camp. Later on, their fellow-

prisoners would tell them that the quietly standing men were those who during the morning roll-call had been ordered to leave the ranks and were waiting to be shot. The execution would take place after the evening roll-call. The low barrack with the chimneys proved to be the camp kitchen.

Auschwitz (Oswiecim)

Four million persons perished in the "**Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau**," 4 million persons from all the countries under Nazi occupation. This number was arrived at as the result of computations made after surveying the terrain, the installations of destruction and the documents of the Auschwitz camp; it is also based upon the evidence of hundreds of surviving prisoners and upon the opinion of experts.

Hall of Nations

The citizenship and nationality of the prisoners were stated in various Nazi documents. They show that Auschwitz was selected as the place where the programme of complete extermination of the Jews was to be realized. The ex-commandant of the camp, Rudolf Hoess, while in prison after the end of the war, wrote his "**Reminiscences**." In this manuscript Hoess quoted his conversation with Himmler in the summer of 1941. Himmler said, "

"The **Führer** has ordered that the Jewish question be solved once and for all, and that we, the SS, are to implement the order. The existing extermination centres in the East are not in the position to carry out large actions which are anticipated. I have therefore earmarked Auschwitz for this purpose,

"Commandant of Auschwitz. *The Autobiography of Rudolf Hoess*. (Pan Books LTD. London 1961), p. 162.

HANDOUT D-12-3 (cont.)

both because of its good position as regards communication and because the area can easily be isolated and camouflaged...."

Extermination of Soviet P.O.W.'s

The first major transport of Soviet prisoners of war came to the Auschwitz camp on the 7th of October, 1941. Other transports followed. In accordance with the amount of camp numbers issued to the prisoners, it was ascertained that all together 13,775 prisoners of war¹¹ had been brought to the camp.

In the period from October 1941 to the end of February 1942, 8,320 prisoners of war had perished.¹² The names of those murdered were entered into the Book of Deaths ("*Totenbuch*"), where cause and time of death were also recorded. The entries in both columns were obviously fictitious. The times of deaths were recorded in intervals of 5-10 minutes and 653 P.O.W.'s — young and healthy men, fit for military service — had died of heart failure.

An attempt at mass killing of Soviet P.O.W.'s by gassing¹³ was made on September 3, 1941. 600 prisoners of war and 250 prisoners from the camp hospital had then perished.

Only 92 prisoners of war (according to the last roll-call) were present in the camp on January 17, 1945, out of the approximate 13 thousand.

¹¹ Jerzy Brandhuber: *Die sowjetische Kriegsgefangenen im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz* (Soviet Prisoners of War in the Auschwitz Concentration Camp). *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Oswiecim, 4, 1961, p. 45, 46.

¹² A detailed account of the extermination of the prisoners of war is to be found in *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Oswiecim, 4, 1961, p. 5-46.

¹³ Danuta Czech: *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau*. (Calendar of Events in the Camp). *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Oswiecim, 2, 1959, p. 109.

Extermination of the Gypsies

The registers, referring to the gypsy camp in Birkenau, which were hidden by some prisoners and then produced after the war, contain 20,946 names. The Nazis had sent whole families to the camp, adults as well as children. Out of that number only about 2,000 gypsies were sent to other camps; the rest perished due to illness and exhaustion or were killed in gas chambers on August 2, 1944.

Extermination

Among those who perished in the camp were priests and members of various religious denominations, men belonging to various social strata and professions.... Healthy or sick, young or old, they shared the same fate. The victims were arriving from town and country, from other concentration camps, from the camps of the prisoners of war....

The Road of Death Deceiving the Victims

Just like the inhabitants of the Zamosc district, those of other districts near Poznan, Zywiec in Silesia, etc., were also deported, because those districts were needed for the settling of German colonists. Deported people were told they were taken "to settle" in another place and were sent to the Auschwitz camp. Jews from France, Holland, Hungary and other countries were deceived in a similar manner. Greek Jews were given railway tickets with Greek and German inscriptions.

In one of the Nazi letters of 10.3.1942, we find the following information,¹⁴

¹⁴ *Dokumente über die Verantwortlichkeit des Reiches für die Judenmassnahmen im besetzten und unbesetzten Frankreich, insbesondere auch in Algerien, Marokko und Tunis*. (Documents concerning the Reich's responsibility for measures taken against the Jews in occupied and unoccupied France, particularly also in Algeria, Morocco, Tunis.) Frankfurt on Main, 1959, Publ. URO.

"The Slovak government pays 500 marks for every extradited Jew and also covers the cost of transportation."

Conditions of Transportation

The arrested people had often to cover a distance of approximately 2,400 kilometres to get to Auschwitz. Closed freight cars were the means of transportation. The prisoners were not given any food during transportation; they also were deprived of all sanitary facilities. A precise timetable of trains bound for the Auschwitz camp was settled at conferences in the Ministry of Transport. The timetable was strictly adhered to, so as to avoid any disturbances of military transports.¹⁵

The bolted cars were for the first time opened in Birkenau at the railway ramp which led to Crematoria II and III. There, the SS made the selection, described by Hoess in the following passage.¹⁷

Selection

"The vans were unloaded one after the other. After depositing their baggage, the Jews had to pass individually in front of an SS doctor, who decided on their physical fitness as they marched past him. Those considered capable of employment were immediately taken into the camp in small groups. Taking an average of all the transports, between twenty-five and thirty per cent were found fit for work, but this figure fluctuated considerably. The figure for Greek Jews, for example, was only fifteen per cent..."

Extermination Factory

The area belonging to the administration of the camp (*Interessengebiet*) covered about 40 square kilometres. The map of this area shows that the

¹⁵ Vide (See) Note 10, p. 213.

¹⁷ Vide Note 10, p. 214.

HANDOUT D-12-3 (cont.)

base camp at Oswiecim (Auschwitz I) was situated in its south-eastern part and the distance between it and the northwestern camp at Brzezinka (Auschwitz II or Birkenau) was circa 3 kilometres. A visual comparison of the areas of both camps shows that the latter was several times bigger than the Auschwitz camp.

In Auschwitz, Block 11 is indicated (see Handout D-12.2); in its cellars the first attempt with gas – Cyclon B – was made (September 3, 1941). In the yard of this block about 20,000 prisoners were shot. Gassing also took place in the mortuary of Crematorium I in Auschwitz.

Before finishing the construction of 4 big gas chambers and crematoria at Birkenau, gassing was done in farmhouses, adapted for this purpose ("white house" and "red house").

Corpses were burned in crematoria, but due to the great quantities of victims they were also buried in common graves or burnt on immense pyres.

The vastness of the pyres might be gauged by the fact that a strong stench of burning flesh was carried for many miles. The entire population of districts, lying even at some distance from Auschwitz, began to talk about burning of the Jews. Hoess stated that the German air defense service, located in the neighbourhood of Auschwitz, had been complaining about the fires, visible at night from afar.²¹

Process of Extermination

We are able to reconstruct the process of extermination thoroughly, owing to the fact that the plans of the gas chambers and crematoria were saved from destruction, also thanks to the ruins

²¹ Vide Note 10, p. 197.

of the buildings used for exterminating and to the explanation proffered by ex-commandant Hoess.

After the selection at the ramp, people destined to be gassed were told they would go to the bathhouse. There were shower-like devices affixed to the ceiling of the gas chamber. Beaten with bludgeons and mauled by dogs, the victims, some 2,000 in number, would be crowded into the chamber, the area of which had 210 square metres. After screwing up the door of the chamber, Cyclon B was discharged into the chamber through special vents. Some 15-20 minutes later the chamber was opened, gold teeth of the corpses were extracted, their hair was cut, rings and earrings were taken and the bodies were transported to the ovens of the crematoria. The personal documents of those murdered were destroyed.

• • •

Camouflaging of Crimes

The process of extermination, together with other aspects of life in a concentration camp, were top secret. A certain number of prisoners from a fresh draft were usually chosen by the SS men to form a special detachment – "Sonderkommando". Their tasks were to empty the gas chambers and to burn the corpses. Being "in the know" ("Geheimnisträger"), they would be sent to gas chambers too, after some time, and they would be replaced again by prisoners from a fresh transport.

• • •

Cyclon B

Piles of empty tins of Cyclon B, together with some full ones, were found in the camp stores.

Cyclon B was produced by the firm "Degesch"²² and was supplied by the firm "Tesch und Stabenow." Trucks from the Auschwitz camp used to drive to the factory in Dessau in order to fetch Cyclon. This is confirmed by scores of preserved travel orders (Fahrbefehl).

Hoess does not deny in his reminiscences, that the use of Cyclon B²³

"had a soothing effect on me, we had shortly to begin a mass killing of the Jews and up to that time neither Eichmann nor I had had any idea how to proceed with it.... Now we had discovered the gas and the means as well."

Cyclon B, in the form of small crystals,²⁴ is one of the strongest poisons, and acts very quickly. Death is due to suffocation and is accompanied by sensations of fear, dizziness, and by vomiting.

Exploiting the Corpses

The Soviet Army on liberating the camp, found in the magazines about 7,000 kilogrammes of human hair, packed in paper bags (average weight of each bag circa 25 kilogrammes). This was only a remnant of the hair, which the camp authorities had not managed to send to the Bavarian factories (Firm of Alex Zink) to be processed. Hair was sold at the price of 50 pfennig for 1 kilogramme.

• • •

Tailor's lining was made of human hair. Bales of it, found at Kietrz (Katscher), were subjected to an analysis by the Institute of Forensic Medicine in Cracow.

• • •

²² Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Schädlingbekämpfung (German Society for Combating Pests).

²³ Vide Note 10, p. 165.

²⁴ Infusorial earth saturated with hydrogen cyanide.

HANDOUT D-12-3 (cont.)

Gold and platinum teeth, extracted from the jaws of the corpses, were melted into ingots and forwarded to the SS Sanitary Head Office. Ashes of burnt corpses were buried in pits or were thrown into nearby ponds and rivers.

The entire property of the prisoners, brought by them to the camp, was taken to store-barracks, called "Canada" in the camp jargon. In 35 barracks special squads of prisoners were sorting vast quantities of clothes, valuables, currency, etc....

Material Proofs

As the Soviet Army approached, the stores were hurriedly emptied. The Nazis left only objects which in their opinion were of no value. A few days before the liberation of the camp, the remnants of retreating SS troupes set fire to all magazines. In six barracks, which were only partly consumed by the fire, the following things were found:

- 348,820 suits of men's clothes
- 836,525 women's dresses
- 5,255 pairs of women's shoes
- 38,000 pairs of men's shoes
- 13,694 carpets

together with great quantities of tooth-brushes, shaving-brushes, articles of everyday use, artificial limbs, spectacles, etc. The immense quantities of articles, though constituting but a small percentage in relation to the amount of loot, give testimony to the number of the murdered, reveal the names of the victims (names of owners were affixed to suitcases), often lead to the surmise that there were children among the victims, owing to the inscriptions "orphan" ("Waisenkind"), etc.

Arrival at the Camp

Not all prisoners underwent a selection at the ramp. Some transports of prisoners were taken straight to the camp where they met the so-called "welcoming" ceremony (*Begrussung*). The first prisoners to be taken to Auschwitz arrived there on the 14th of June, 1940. They were Poles, 728 in number.

When the gates had closed behind the newcomers, they were ordered to fall into ranks; the camp leader told them to remember that **"they had come here to a concentration camp, from which there was no other exit except through the crematorium chimney...."**

Hair-cutting and Bathing

The prisoners were next driven towards Block 26, in front of which they had to undress, then they had their heads shorn and were forcibly crowded into the bath-house. Regaled with beating and abuse, they were showered with boiling hot or ice-cold water and after some minutes were, regardless of the season, driven naked into the yard. There they were given their prison clothes, as often as not too small or too large, always tattered and dirty.

Registration and Tattooing

The registration of new arrivals would then begin. Personal data of the prisoners were taken down and they were given their identification numbers. The camp number was tattooed on the left forearm in the Auschwitz camp only. The tattooing was originally effected with a special metal stamp, provided with figures made of rather thick needles about 1 centimetre long. Soviet prisoners of war were tattooed in the same way. Later on, a needle with a wooden handle, very much like a penholder, was used for tattoo-

ing. From this moment on, the prisoner was nameless – he had only his number as the sole means of identification.

Marking the Prisoners

The prisoner's camp number, stamped on a special piece of cloth, had to be sewn on the trousers and coat. A triangle was added above the number. The triangles were of different colours, depending on the so-called reasons for detaining the prisoners and for sending them to the camp. Red triangles were most frequent; they denoted political prisoners.

Criminal offenders were given green triangles by the authorities of the camp.

The first letter of the name of the country (in German) from which the prisoner had come, was placed within the triangle.

(Editor's Note: A chart recovered from Dachau depicted the complex system used to identify inmates of concentration camps. Colored triangles designated general categories: red for political prisoners; green for criminals; brown for attempted emigrants; purple for religious fundamentalists; pink for homosexuals; and black for "asocial" types. Other symbols were used to denote more specific classifications: superimposed yellow triangle, Jew; a stripe, repeat offender; black disk, special punishment company; red disk, escape risk; black disk, race "defilers." Source: Charles Whiting. *The Home Front: Germany* (Chicago: Time-Life Books, 1982), p. 39.)

Clothes

Every prisoner received, besides the clothes, also underwear, a shirt and drawers, wooden clogs or shoes.

In the beginning of the camp no shoes or caps were issued to the majority of prisoners, not until

HANDOUT D-12-3 (cont.)

December 1940. Coats were issued by the SS in winter.

Women prisoners wore striped dresses and striped jackets. With time, prisoners were given the clothes of killed P.O.W.'s or Jews. This was stated by Hoess:³⁷

"I took the initiative of issuing to prisoners sweaters and warm underwear, left after the gassing of the Jews, later also clothes, after having marked them with red dye on the backs."

The Amount of Prisoners with Camp Numbers

During the whole time of the existence of the Auschwitz concentration camp there were about 405,000 registered prisoners, both men and women. Soviet prisoners of war, prisoners in "corrective custody"³⁸, gypsies and prisoners were kept in Block 11 at the disposal of the police Summary court of the **Gestapo** in Katowice. Out of this number circa 340,000 prisoners had perished due to the miserable conditions of life in camp.

Quarantine

After the registration, the prisoner was sent to the quarantine, which lasted 6-8 weeks. This period consisted of a series of unending tortures. The prisoners were drilled, were taught German marching songs, but above all they were incessantly beaten and maltreated. As they did not work as yet, their food rations – never sufficient in camp – were smaller than usual. The quarantine had as its objective to terrorize the prisoner, to break down his mental and physical resistance....

³⁷ Trial of Rudolf Hoess, commandant of the concentration camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau, vol. 21, card 82.

³⁸ Erziehungshaftlinge (in corrective custody).

"As a rule everything we did was wrong and the punishment was – **hupfen, rollen, laufen, drehen**, etc. (jump, roll, run, turn round, etc.). After having been so harassed, it was a relief to go marching and singing, even if our bare feet, unused to such marching, were treading on broken bricks, glass, etc., which caused cuts and in consequence festering, infected wounds."³⁹

"The persecutors pounced upon us, their ready prey. We were beaten in a horrible manner. For hours we had to run, jump, crawl, turn round while kneeling on the gravel and sharp pebbles. Weaker prisoners collapsed, older and stouter men fainted, blood rushed to the temples. Hearts burst due to excessive strain and exhaustion, particularly so, as we had had nothing to eat since we were arrested."⁴⁰

Administration of the Camp

The death rate among the prisoners in quarantine was very high. Had someone managed to survive that period, he would be sent to work in one of the several scores of work squads or "**Kommandos**." And now he could observe the vastness of the Auschwitz camp, which consisted of three independent camps, the so-called base-camp (**Auschwitz I**) with its administrative centre, the women's and men's camp at Birkenau (**Auschwitz II** or **Birkenau**) and the men's camp at Monowice (**Auschwitz III** or **Buna**). The latter supervised about 40 sub-camps located mainly in Silesia.

The camp administration consisted of several sections: the commandant's office, the political section, the camp management, the employment

³⁹ *Obrazki Auschwitz'u* (Scenes from Auschwitz). *Materiały Ruchu Oporu* (Materials of the Resistance Movement), vol. V, card 349.

⁴⁰ Ludwik Rajewski: *Oświęcim w systemie RSHA* (Auschwitz within the Reich Security Head Office system). Warszawa-Krakow 1946, Publ. E. Kuthan, p. 93.

section, the administration office and the hospital. Officers of the SS stood at the head of each section, the staff of which also consisted of members of the SS.

Roll-Calls

The average day of a prisoner began and ended with roll-calls. At first, roll-calls were held three times a day, later twice. Towards the end, when the camp authorities exacted a maximum of work from the prisoners, the roll was called in the evening only. Their main purpose was to ascertain the number of prisoners taking part in them.

After counting the prisoners, the block senior gave their number to the SS man (**Blockführer**), who after verifying it, reported in turn to the SS noncommissioned officer (**Rapportführer**).

• • •

The roll-call, though this term sounded inoffensively enough, became the nightmare of the prisoners. Roll-calls lasting less than an hour were an extremely rare event. As a rule SS men would protract the roll-call on purpose, making it last several hours, even over 10 hours, regardless of the weather. In the camp for women, the prisoners were often obliged to kneel with raised hands during roll-calls.

The roll-call of July 6, 1940 lasted from 7 p.m. throughout the night, till 2 p.m. the next day, i.e., about 19 hours, and the prisoners had either to stand at attention all the time or had to keep a deep knee bend position.

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A Prisoner's Life

The constant sight of electrified wires, the dense mesh of which made all hope of escape im-

HANDOUT D-12-3 (cont.)

practicable, the deaths of fellow-prisoners, occurring day by day, the anxiety over the fate of their nearest and dearest – all this had a most destructive influence upon the prisoner's mind. If he had enough physical strength, he would make one last effort and seeing his hopeless situation, he would "run into the wires." Thus was suicide termed in the camp. If not killed by the electric current, he would be shot by the SS guards.

The hands of the camp clock were mercilessly and monotonously measuring out the prisoner's span of life; from morning bell to evening bell, from one dish of soup to the next, from the first roll-call to the one at which the prisoner's corpse would be counted for the last time.⁴⁴

Everyday Toil

The Auschwitz concentration camp was built by its inmates. They were employed in building its branches, in building roads and barracks, in levelling the grounds, etc. A former prisoner confirms this fact:⁴⁵

"Work consisted of unloading heavy loads, of pulling down the barracks. Everything had to be done double quick, should anyone fall down exhausted, he would be beaten and kicked by the SS men and the capos....

When returning to the camp in a state of exhaustion, we had to take back five bricks, anyone who failed to do so was kicked and severely maltreated....

I was busy loading rubble or rather gravel for the cement factory; the work was hard; with the help of big shovels we had to load a wagon of rubble and then we would push

it, some ten or fifteen of us, all the way to the factory; we used to draw fifteen or more wagons each day...."

The Fate of Women and Children

The fate of pregnant women and children was the most heart-rending of all. They were sent straight to gas chambers in the early period of the camp's existence. But there were also cases of childbirth starting right in the centre of a barrack. The mothers mostly died of infection after being delivered of the child. If the child survived, it would be taken by the SS doctors and killed. In 1943 children of Aryan origin, born in the camp, could be kept there with the unofficial consent of the SS. They were entered in the camp register, but their camp numbers used to be tattooed upon the buttocks or thighs, not on their left arms, because their arms were too small. In spite of super-human efforts of prisoners-doctors and nurses, the infants usually died after a week or two. Those only who were born shortly before the liberation of the camp have managed to survive.

To another group of children belonged those who had come with the transport from the Zamosc district, from Warsaw (after the quelling of the insurrection there) and from Minsk and Witebsk, sent together with transport of the civilian population. There were also instances of Jewish children getting into the camp together with grown-ups, unnoticed by the SS men. The SS used to make selections among the children, too, from time to time. An ex-prisoner, Dr. Berthold E. had witnessed such horrible scenes:⁴⁶

"During the selection of children, the SS men had placed a rod at the height of 1.20 metre. Children who had passed under the rod would be gassed. Small children, knowing only too well what was awaiting them, tried hard to push out their necks when passing under the rod, in the hope to escape gassing...."

Living Quarters

The prisoners' accommodation varied in the different phases of the camp's existence, but it was invariably disastrous. The first transports of prisoners slept on straw put on the floor. Later pallets were issued; they were put on the floor at night and stacked away in piles during the day. The prisoners had blankets to cover themselves with. About 200 persons slept in a room where 40-50 could barely be crowded in. One pallet had to do for 3-4 persons and the limited space forced the prisoners to lie side to side. When a prisoner was obliged to go out at night to the latrine, he would, on returning, find his place taken. Sleep was out of the question under those circumstances; night gave no rest, being but a continuation of day-time hardships and torments.

Three-tier bunks, introduced later on, did not solve the problem. The bunk-beds, occupying the entire area of the room, had to be shared by two prisoners. They slept one in a bed only towards the end of 1943 and in the beginning of 1944.

Executions

The prisoners were liable to be shot for many reasons. The first to be shot were 40 Poles, on November 22, 1940. The *Lagerführer* Fritzsch directed the execution, the witness of which was SS officer Tager, and SS men formed the firing squad. The prisoners were shot for transgressing the camp regulations or in retaliation for the activities of the Resistance Movement in Poland, also for pre-war political activity or simply in order to terrorize the camp inmates.

The executions were chiefly performed in the yard of Block 11, also near the camp in the pits from which gravel was raised (*Kiesgrube*).

⁴⁴ The everyday life of the prisoners is illustrated by cycles of pictures by former Auschwitz prisoners, Jerzy Brandhuber and Mieczysław Koscielnik.

⁴⁵ Vide Note 37 (vol. 4, card 24 – depositions of former prisoner Antoni M.).

⁴⁶ Vide Note 37, (vol. 5, card 35).

Fugitives, caught in the attempt to escape together with the prisoners who had given them help, were mostly hanged on a portable gallows, erected for the occasion in front of the kitchen. Executions by hanging took place publicly during the evening roll calls.

• • •

Resistance Movement

An illegal organization, directed against the Nazis, originated and was active in spite of the difficult conditions in the camp. Thanks to contacts with the civilian population, information about the SS crimes was transmitted abroad. In one of the secret letters, written and sent outside by ex-prisoner Jozef Cyrankiewicz, we read:⁸⁰

"Though living in the camp of slavery – yet free in spirit – we convey to the free world information about our existence, about our unequal struggle for the rights of political prisoners. We are behind the wires, but as soldiers and as members of our nations, we demand to be treated as soldiers, we demand human rights."

Thanks to the help of the population, prisoners smuggled food into the camp and, particularly, drugs, so badly needed and so valuable. Members of the organization stole food and drugs from the SS magazines, and shared them with the sick prisoners in camp.

The organization sent out the names of prisoners; they were in turn transmitted to the International Red Cross....

To maintain the mental resistance of the prisoners illegal meetings were held at which eminent men of arts and letters recalled the best

works of their country's literature. Religious services were also held in secret. Prisoners were informed about the political situation and about the strategy on the fronts.

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⁸⁰ Materials of the Resistance Movement (vol. II, card 87).

HANDOUT D-12.4

THE KINGDOM OF AUSCHWITZ

Otto Friedrich

At the little station with the chestnut trees, the trains kept arriving. On April 17, 1942, a shipment of 973 Slovakian Jews appeared at Auschwitz, and on April 19, another 464. The SS men and their snarling guard dogs met them at the railroad ramp. Prisoner Borowski, who was a poet of incandescent talent, appeared at the ramp occasionally to watch the arrivals. (Borowski survived three years in Auschwitz. Three collections of his stories and a volume of poetry were published after the war. He committed suicide in 1951 at the age of twenty-nine). "The ramp has become increasingly alive with activity, increasingly noisy," he wrote. "The crews are being divided into those who will open and unload the arriving cattle cars and those who will be posted by the wooden steps.... Motorcycles drive up, delivering SS officers, bemedaled, glittering with brass, beefy men with highly polished boots and shiny, brutal faces. — Some have brought their briefcases, others hold thin, flexible whips.... Some stroll majestically on the ramp, the silver squares on their collars glitter, the gravel crunches under their boots, their bamboo whips snap impatiently.... The train rolls slowly alongside the ramp. In the tiny barred windows appear pale, wilted, exhausted human faces, terror-stricken women with tangled hair, unshaven men. They gaze at the station in silence. And then, suddenly, there is a stir inside the cars, and a pounding against the wooden boards. "Water! Air!"

Excerpted from: Otto Friedrich. "The Kingdom of Auschwitz." *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1961, pp. 36, 38. A condensation of a chapter from *The End of the World, A History* by Otto Friedrich. Copyright (c) 1961, by the Atlantic Monthly Company, Boston, MA. Reprinted with permission.

The SS men routed the starving and terrified prisoners out of the freight cars, ordered them to abandon all their possessions, and then whipped them into line to prepare for the process known as "selection." Two SS doctors had been assigned by rotation to choose a few of the hardiest prisoners to be preserved for the Auschwitz labor commands. These doctors (the most notable was Josef Mengele, now a fugitive in Paraguay, who liked to wear white gloves and to whistle themes from Wagner's operas as he worked) surveyed each newcomer for a few seconds and then waved him on in one direction or another. A wave to the right — though most of the newcomers did not realize it — meant survival, an assignment to hard labor in the construction gangs. A wave to the left meant the gas chamber. Anyone more than about forty years of age was waved to the left. Almost all children under fifteen went to the left. Families that asked to stay together were reunited and sent to the left. Only about 10 percent of each transport, on the average, went to the right — sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the whim of the SS doctors.

• • •

Those happy few who survived the selections on the ramp were marched off to the quarantine barracks, where they were initiated into a series of rituals designed to destroy their identities and their personalities and thus their capacity for resistance. First they were taken to the yard between Blocks 15 and 16 and ordered to strip off their clothes. All their hair was shaved off. Then they had to run to a nearby bathhouse and take a cold shower. Then they had to run to another yard, where they were provided with ill-fitting blue-and-white-striped prison uniforms and

wooden clogs. Their uniforms bore triangles of different colors, according to the categories of prisoner-green for professional criminals, red for political opposition, yellow for Jews, black for prostitutes and other "asocials," pink for homosexuals, purple for "exponents of the Bible" (Jehovah's Witnesses and other Christian fundamentalists). Jews who fitted into any of the other categories had their yellow triangle superimposed on the first triangle to form a Star of David.* Finally, the prisoners had their Auschwitz numbers tattooed on their left forearms. Henceforth, they were told, they were to be known only by this number, not by name. This whole procedure normally took all day, but if the prisoners had arrived in the afternoon, it took all night. Throughout it, they were given no food or water.

*Note: The letter of nationality preceded the number on the triangle.

HANDOUT D-12.5

TREBLINKA

Jean-Francois Steiner

This (camp) organization took place on two levels: the formation of social classes corresponding to the different tasks, and the formation of hierarchies within these classes. The tasks allotted to the prisoners fell roughly into three categories: the handling of the bodies; the handling of the living and their possessions; and finally, the upkeep of the camp.

Those who handled the bodies, those who took them out of the gas chambers, extracted their teeth, and carried them to the ditches, had jobs of a very special nature. Their administration required extreme vigilance. Indeed, the Technicians (Nazis) did not know what to expect from men living under such conditions. They decided to isolate them in a camp within the camp itself, in a kind of dungeon, sanctuary, or holy of holies. They were called the *Totenjuden*, "Jews of Death."

This second camp, which was of much smaller dimensions, was located in the northeast corner of the general camp. Bounded on the south by the building containing the gas chambers, it was surrounded by a sand embankment two and a half yards high, on which a barbed-wire fence was erected. Two exits led to this camp, one at the west reserved for S.S. personnel and Ukrainians, and another to the south to accommodate Jews going to the gas chambers, which the Technicians called the "road to heaven." Within this Camp Number Two a barracks was constructed in which the workers were locked up at night.

Taken from: Jean-Francois Steiner, *Treblinka* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), pp. 92-96; 131-132. English trans. copyright (c) 1967 by Simon and Schuster, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Simon and Schuster, Inc.

Around this barracks was erected another enclosure, surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, in which the Jews were penned during lunch hour and between the end of the working day and lights out. It was decided that nobody would ever leave this triple enclosure, and the Jews called the western exit "the road of no return."

The great majority of the prisoners remained in Camp Number One, in the barracks between the platform where the convoys arrived and the gas chamber. East of this barracks was the "roll-call square," where shipments undressed; further east an enormous open space where the objects and clothing were stocked. This was called the "junk square," the "sorting square," or, more often, the "square." These prisoners acquired the name of *Platzjuden*, "Jews of the square." They were divided into a certain number of work commandos, which corresponded to the various activities which the Technicians decided to assign to them.

The work commando of the railway station, or "blue" commando, was in charge of greeting the convoys, herding the Jews out of the cars, collecting their baggage, and cleaning the cars. The task of the "red" commando was to help the convoys undress and to carry their clothing to the sorting square. The work of these two commandos obviously had an indelicate side, since they participated directly in the final process of liquidation. This method which consists in making the victims the accomplices of their own executioners was a kind of dogma to the Technicians. It was for the sake of this principle that they had made Vilna destroy itself, and it must be admitted that the results had been more than satisfying.

In their desire to push specialization to the maximum, the Technicians set up as many sorting commandos as there were kinds of objects: a clothing commando, a linen commando, a dishes commando, a pen commando, a tool commando,

a fur commando, et cetera. The variety of objects brought by these people who were coming to be exterminated may be surprising: it is the proof of the inability of the Jewish masses to accept the reality of extermination. This variety was even greater later on, when, after Poland had been "cleared" of Jews, the Technicians hunted them down in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Germany, and Greece. At this time the sorting square became a kind of flea market, an amazing storehouse where clothing and musical instruments were found next to artificial legs and dentist's chairs.

The Jews in charge of the sorting of gold, money, various securities, deeds, jewels, et cetera, had a special status. They were called *Goldjuden*, "Jews of gold." Their center was a shed to which everything was brought in bulk, but they had a certain number of fixed or mobile stations from which they collected raw materials. The head office was located on the square where the men from the convoys undressed. This office had two branches, one in the shed where the women undressed and the other in the middle of the "road to heaven." On the square and in the shed, the *Goldjuden* merely went among the arrivals with suitcases and asked them to hand over their stocks, jewels, et cetera. On the "road to heaven" it was the final inspection. This advanced post consisted of a cabin in which men and women were subjected to an intimate search. Besides the head office, there was on the sorting square a secondary office whose employees had to pass among the sorting commandos, who turned over to them whatever gold, silver, securities, and jewels they found in the clothing and baggage. Only the mouths of the arrivals were exempt from the *Goldjuden*. The Technicians had decided it was easier to extract gold teeth from the dead than from the living. This arrangement necessitated a control operation at the exits from the

HANDOUT D-12.5 (cont.)

gas chambers. It was more reasonable, therefore, to have the "dentists," while they were at it, collect any jewels that the Jews had hidden in their mouths. This gold and these jewels which the commando of Camp Number Two collected were then sent back to the **Goldjuden** after the preliminary work of sorting and cleaning the gold teeth.

A certain number of other commandos were also set up: a "camouflage" commando, whose mission was to decorate the barbed wire with branches which it gathered in the forest, to conceal the existence of the camp from airplanes; a construction commando in an embryonic state which was, however, to have a brilliant future; a garbage commando; finally, a commando of woodcutters in charge of furnishing timber to the construction commando.

Many of these commandos existed only as cadres, with work forces varying from zero to fifty according to need, but the foundations of the future organization had been laid.

Finally, at the top of the social scale, a class of aristocrats was created: the **Hofjuden**, or "court Jews." These were the first Jews brought to Treblinka before its inauguration. Their responsibility was the upkeep of the camp and the personal service of the Technicians. They were lodged in huts several hundred yards west of the compound formed by the sorting square, roll-call square, the "road to heaven" and the building housing the gas chambers, which had acquired the name "the factory." This place was still wooded, and it was necessary to clear the land in order to construct the huts. Since the terrain sloped down slightly toward the huts, the place came to be referred to as "Below," whereas the compound was referred to as "Above." To indicate the horror of the situation of the Jews in Camp Number Two and their isolation from every-

thing, it was called "Down There." Thus, parallel to the social structure a geographic structure of the camp was born: "Below," "Above," "Down There"; "Court Jews," "Square Jews," "Jews of Death": aristocrats, masses, untouchables.

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As soon as the last car had been loaded, the commandos were reassembled and led, as they were every evening, to Roll Call Square, where the convoys undressed....

On the roofs of the barracks on either side of the yard, as every evening, Ukrainian guards were bringing machine guns into firing position. Down below in the yard the whips of the guards corrected the alignment of the Jews. At this time, the ritual of the roll call was still very rudimentary. The prisoners, an anonymous mass, were not even counted. The roll call consisted of two parts. The first, which might last from a quarter of an hour to two hours, was devoted to cap drill. The cap was the only uniform of the prisoners of Treblinka.* At the command "**Mutzen ab!**" they had to take off their caps with a rapid gesture and slap them against their right thighs in unison; at the command "**Mutzen auf!**" they had to put them on again. A parody of weapons drill, this exercise was in theory supposed to last until the thousand caps made a single sound, sharp as a gunshot, as they struck the thousand thighs. In practice, the ceremony very frequently lasted much longer, for the purpose of the maneuver was not to teach the Jews to remove their caps in unison, but to break their spirits. When its perfection could not be doubted, the S.S. orchestra

* Unlike prisoners in most of the concentration camps, the Jews of Treblinka never wore the famous striped pajamas. The manufacture of these pajamas did not begin until a few days before the destruction of the camp.

leader would slap his thigh violently, look at the prisoners, and say, "That was almost perfect, but you will begin the exercise again because of that Jewish pig who is always behind"; and the exercise would resume until once again fatigue broke down the perfection. At this point the blows began to fall again, and the Jews set off again in pursuit of a new perfection, beyond this new threshold of exhaustion. Sometimes, rarely, a few murmurs arose from the mass of the prisoners, and from the roofs would come the sound of the machine guns being cocked. Then the exercise would begin again.

The second part of the roll call, which was optional, generally consisted of a speech made up of curses. It was during this second part that changes in organization were announced to the prisoners.

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HANDOUT D-12.6

THE LAST OF THE JUST

Andre Schwarz-Bart

The building resembled a high bathhouse. To left and right large concrete pots cupped the stems of faded flowers. At the foot of the small wooden stairway an S.S. man, mustached and benevolent, told the condemned, "Nothing painful will happen! You just have to breathe very deeply. It strengthens the lungs. It's a way to prevent contagious diseases. It disinfects." Most of them went in silently, pressed forward by those behind. Inside, numbered coat hooks garnished the walls of a sort of gigantic cloakroom where the flock undressed one way or another, encouraged by their S.S. cicerones, who advised them to remember the numbers carefully. Cakes of stony soap were distributed. Golda begged Ernie not to look at her, and he went through the sliding door of the second room with his eyes closed, led by the young woman and by the children, whose soft hands clung to his naked thighs. There, under the showerheads embedded in the ceiling, in the blue light of screened bulbs glowing in recesses of the concrete walls, Jewish men and women, children and patriarchs were huddled together. His eyes still closed, he felt the press of the last parcels of flesh that the S.S. men were clubbing into the gas chamber now, and his eyes still closed, he knew that the lights had been extinguished on the living, on the hundreds of Jewish women suddenly shrieking in terror, on the old men whose prayers rose immediately and grew stronger, on the martyred children, who were rediscovering in their last agonies the fresh innocence of yesteryear's agonies in a chorus of

identical exclamations: "Mama! But I was a good boy! It's dark! It's dark!" And when the first waves of Cyclon B gas billowed among the sweating bodies, drifting down toward the squirming carpet of children's heads, Ernie freed himself from the girl's mute embrace and leaned out into the darkness toward the children invisible even at his knees, and he shouted with all the gentleness and all the strength of his soul, "Breathe deeply, my lambs, and quickly!"

When the layers of gas had covered everything, there was silence in the dark sky of the room for perhaps a minute, broken only by shrill, racking coughs and the gasps of those too far gone in their agonies to offer a devotion. And first a stream, then a cascade, an irrepressible, majestic torrent, the poem that through the smoke of fires and above the funeral pyres of history the Jews (who for two thousand years did not bear arms and who never had either missionary empires or colored slaves) had traced in letters of blood on the earth's hard crust — that old love poem unfurled in the gas chamber, enveloped it, vanquished its somber, abysmal snickering: "SHEMA YISRAEL ADONOI ELOHENU ADONOI EH'OTH. . . Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One. O Lord, by your grace you nourish the living, and by your great pity you resurrect the dead, and you uphold the weak, cure the sick, break the chains of slaves. And faithfully you keep your promises to those who sleep in the dust. Who is like unto you, O merciful Father, and who could be like unto you. . . ?"

The voices died one by one in the course of the unfinished poem. The dying children had already dug their nails into Ernie's thighs, and Golda's embrace was already weaker, her kisses were blurred when, clinging fiercely to her beloved's neck, she exhaled a harsh sigh: "Then I'll never see you again? Never again?"

Ernie managed to spit up the needle of fire jab-

bing at his throat, and as the woman's body slumped against him, its eyes wide in the opaque night, he shouted against the unconscious Golda's ear, "In a little while, I swear it!" And then he knew that he could do nothing more for anyone in the world, and in the flash that preceded his own annihilation he remembered, happily, the legend of Rabbi Chanina ben Teradion, as Mordecai had joyfully recited it: "When the gentle rabbi, wrapped in the scrolls of the Torah, was flung upon the pyre by the Romans for having taught the Law, and when they lit the fagots, the branches still green to make his torture last, his pupils said, 'Master, what do you see?' And Rabbi Chanina answered, 'I see the parchment burning, but the letters are taking wing.' " "Ah, yes surely, the letters are taking wing," Ernie repeated as the flame blazing in his chest rose suddenly to his head. With dying arms he embraced Golda's body in an already unconscious gesture of loving protection, and they were found that way half an hour later by the team of Sonderkommando responsible for burning the Jews in the crematory ovens. And so it was for millions, who turned from Luftmenschen into Luft. I shall not translate. So this story will not finish with some tomb to be visited in memoriam. For the smoke that rises from crematoriums obeys physical laws like any other: the particles come together and disperse according to the wind that propels them. The only pilgrimage, estimable reader, would be to look with sadness at a stormy sky now and then.

And praised. Auschwitz. Be. Maidanek. The Lord. Treblinka. And praised. Buchenwald. Be. Mauthausen. The Lord. Belzec. And praised. Sobibor. Be. Chelmno. The Lord. Ponary. And praised. Theresienstadt. Be. Warsaw. The Lord. Vilna. And praised. Skarzysko. Be. Bergen-Belsen. The Lord. Janow. And praised. Dora. Be.

Taken from: Andre Schwarz-Bart. *The Last of the Just*. Translated by Stephen Becker. Copyright (c) 1960 by Atheneum House, Inc. (New York: Atheneum, 1960).

HANDOUT D-12.6 (cont.)

Neuengamme. The Lord. Pustkow. And praised...

FROM NOTES MADE BY KURT GERSTEIN, AN ENGINEER WORKING FOR THE SS, ON THE EXTERMINATION CAMP AT BELZEC*

...In Lublin, SS Gruppenfuehrer Globocnik was waiting for us. He said: This is one of the most highly secret matters there are, perhaps the most secret. Anybody who speaks about it is shot dead immediately. Two talkative people died yesterday. Then he explained to us that, at the present moment – August 17, 1942 – there were the following installations:

1. Belzec, on the Lublin-Lvov road, in the sector of the soviet Demarcation Line. Maximum per day: 15,000 persons (I saw it!).
2. Sobibor, I am not familiar with the exact situation, I did not visit it. 20,000 persons per day.
3. Treblinka, 120 km. NNE of Warsaw, 25,000 per day, saw it!
4. Majdanek, near Lublin, which I saw when it was being built.

Globocnik said: You will have very large quantities of clothes to disinfect, 10 or 20 times as much as the "Textiles Collection," which is only being carried out in order to camouflage the origin of the Jewish, Polish, Czech and other items

Taken from: Yitzhak Arad, Yisrael Gutman, and Abraham Margalio, editors. *Documents on the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1981), pp. 347-350. Used by permission of Yad Vashem, the Anti-Defamation League, and Ktav Publishing House.

* Gerstein wrote down his evidence on May 26, 1945.

of clothing. Your second job is to convert the gas-chambers, which have up to now been operated with exhaust gases from an old Diesel engine, to a more poisonous and quicker means, cyanide. But the Fuehrer and Himmler, who were here on August 15, the day before yesterday, that is, gave orders that I am myself to accompany all persons who visit the installations. Professor Pfannenstiel replied "But what does the Fuehrer say?" Then Globocnik, who is now Higher SS and Police Leader in Trieste on the Adriatic Coast, said "The whole Aktion must be carried out much faster." Ministerial Director Dr. Herbert Lindner (Linden) of the Ministry of the Interior suggested "Would it not be better to incinerate the bodies instead of burying them? Another generation might perhaps think differently about this?" Then Globocnik, "But, Gentlemen, if we should ever be succeeded by so cowardly and weak a generation that it does not understand our work, which is so good and so necessary, then, Gentlemen, the whole of National Socialism will have been in vain. On the contrary, one should bury bronze plaques (with the bodies), on which is inscribed that it was we, we who had the courage to complete this gigantic task." Hitler said to this, "Well my good Globocnik, you have said it, and that is my opinion, too."

The next day we moved on to Belzec. There is a separate little station with two platforms, at the foot of the hill of yellow sandstone, due north of the Lublin-Lvov road and rail line. To the south of the station, near the main road, there are several office buildings with the inscription "Belzec Office of the Waffen-SS" (Military Unit of the SS). Globocnik introduced me to SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Obermeyer from Pirmasens, who showed me the installations very much against his will. There were no dead to be seen that day, but the stench in the whole area, even on the mainroad, was pestilent. Next to the small sta-

tion there was a large barrack labelled "Dressing Room," with a window that said "Valuables," and also a hall with 100 "Barbers Chairs." Then there was a passage 150 m. long, in the open, enclosed with barbed wire on either side, and signs inscribed "To the Baths and Inhalation Installations." In front of us there was a house, the bath house, and to the right and left large concrete flower pots with geraniums or other flowers. After climbing a few steps there were three rooms each, on the right and on the left. They looked like garages, 4 by 5 m. and 1.90 m. high. At the back, out of sight, there were doors of wood. On the roof there was a Star of David made of copper. The front of the building bore a notice "Heckenholt Institution." That is all I saw that afternoon.

Next morning, a few minutes before 7 o'clock, I was told that the first train would arrive in 10 minutes. And in fact the first train from Lvov arrived a few minutes later. There were 45 carriages with 6,700 persons, of whom 1,450 were already dead on arrival. Through small openings closed with barbed wire one could see yellow, frightened children, men and women. The train stopped, and 200 Ukrainians, who were forced to perform this service, tore open the doors and chased the people from the carriages with whips. Then instructions were given through a large loud-speaker: The people are to take off all their clothes out of doors – and a few of them in the barracks – including artificial limbs and glasses. Shoes must be tied in pairs with a little piece of string handed out by a small four-year-old Jewish boy. All valuables and money are to be handed in at the window marked "Valuables," without any document or receipt being given. The women and girls must then go to the barber, who cuts off their hair with one or two snips. The hair disappears into large potato sacks, "to make something special for the submarines, to seal them and so

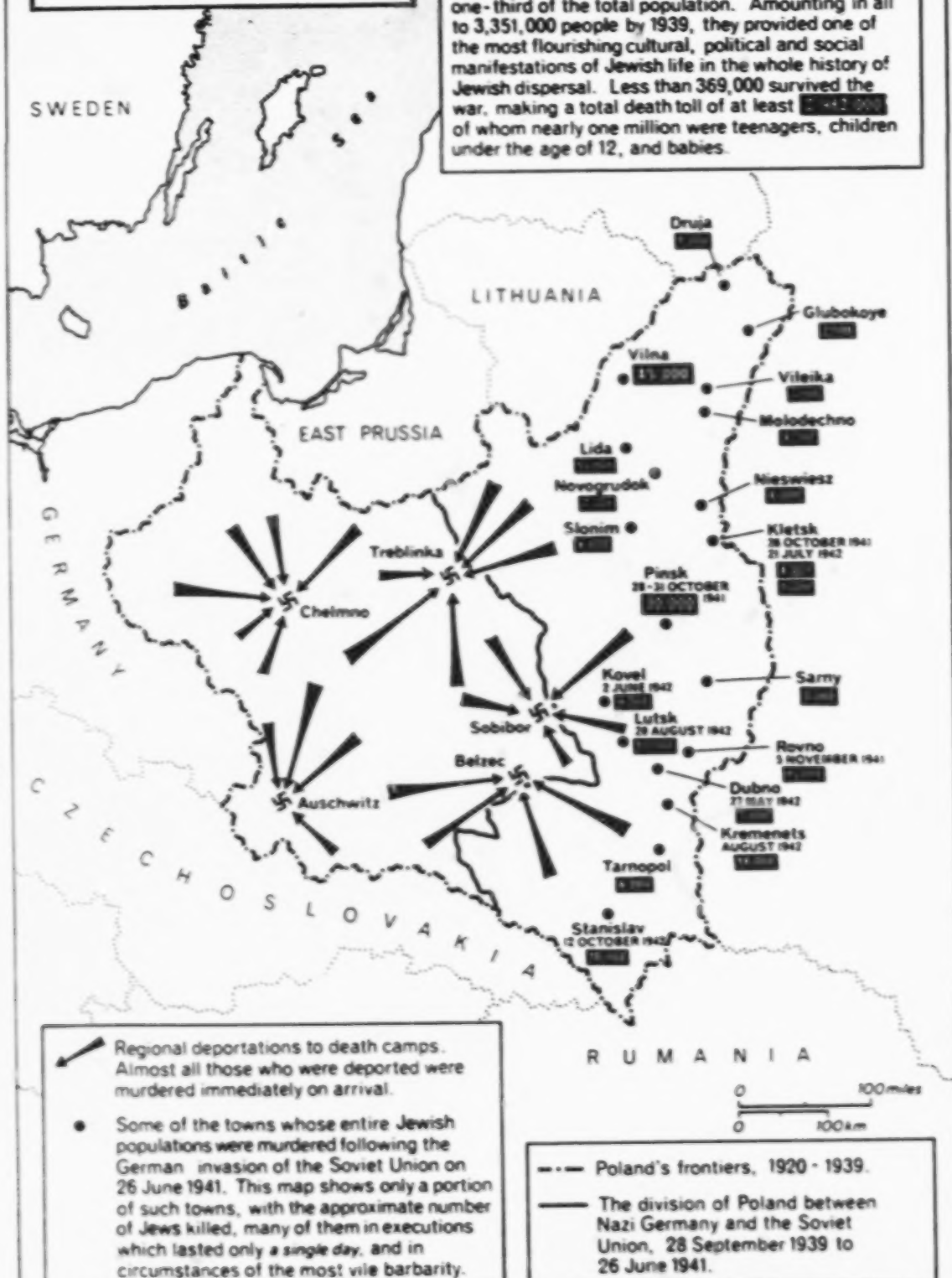
on," the duty SS Unterscharfuehrer explained to me.

Then the march starts: Barbed wire to the right and left and two dozen Ukrainians with rifles at the rear. They came on, led by an exceptionally pretty girl. I myself was standing with Police Captain Wirth in front of the death chambers. Men, women, children, infants, people with amputated legs, all naked, completely naked, moved past us. In one corner there is a whimsical SS man who tells these poor people in an unctuous voice, "Nothing at all will happen to you. You must just breathe deeply, that strengthens the lungs; this inhalation is necessary because of the infectious diseases, it is good disinfection!" When somebody asks what their fate will be, he explains that the men will of course have to work, building streets and houses. But the women will not have to work. If they want to, they can help in the house or the kitchen. A little glimmer of hope flickers once more in some of these poor people, enough to make them march unresisting into the death chambers. But most of them understand what is happening; the smell reveals their fate! Then they climb up a little staircase and see the truth. Nursing mothers with an infant at the breast, naked; many children of all ages, naked. They hesitate, but they enter the death chambers, most of them silent, forced on by those behind them, who are driven by the whip lashes of the SS men. A Jewish woman of about 40, with flaming eyes, calls down (revenge) for the blood of her children on the head of the murderers. Police Captain Wirth in person strikes her in the face 5 times with his whip, and she disappears into the gas chamber....

PS-1553

THE JEWS OF POLAND 1939 - 1945

The Jews of Poland formed the largest single Jewish community in any of the States of inter-war Europe. In most Polish towns they constituted more than one-third of the total population. Amounting in all to 3,351,000 people by 1939, they provided one of the most flourishing cultural, political and social manifestations of Jewish life in the whole history of Jewish dispersal. Less than 369,000 survived the war, making a total death toll of at least 2,982,000 of whom nearly one million were teenagers, children under the age of 12, and babies.

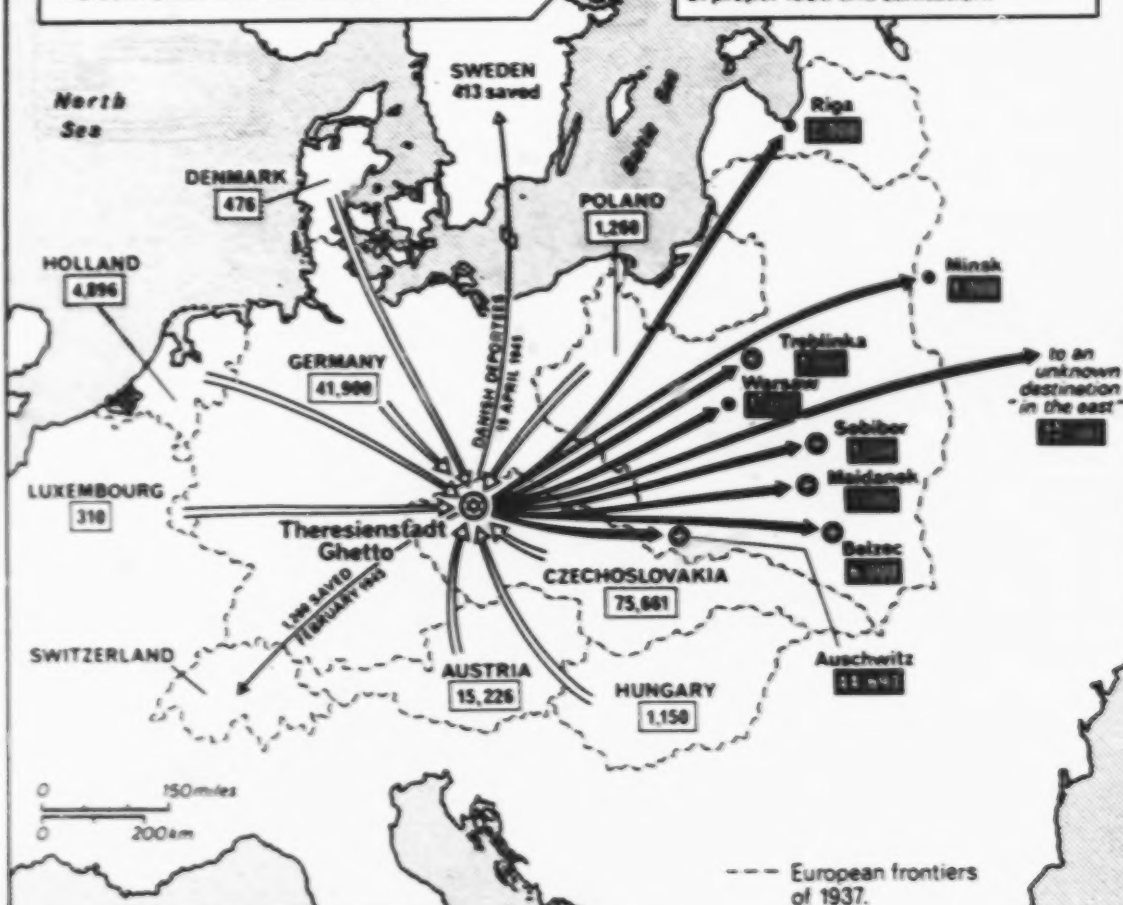


Taken from: Martin Gilbert, *Maps from The Holocaust*, Copyright (c) 1978 by Martin Gilbert. Reprinted by permission of Hill and Wang, a division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc.

THE THERESIENSTADT GHETTO 10 OCTOBER 1941 - 8 MAY 1945

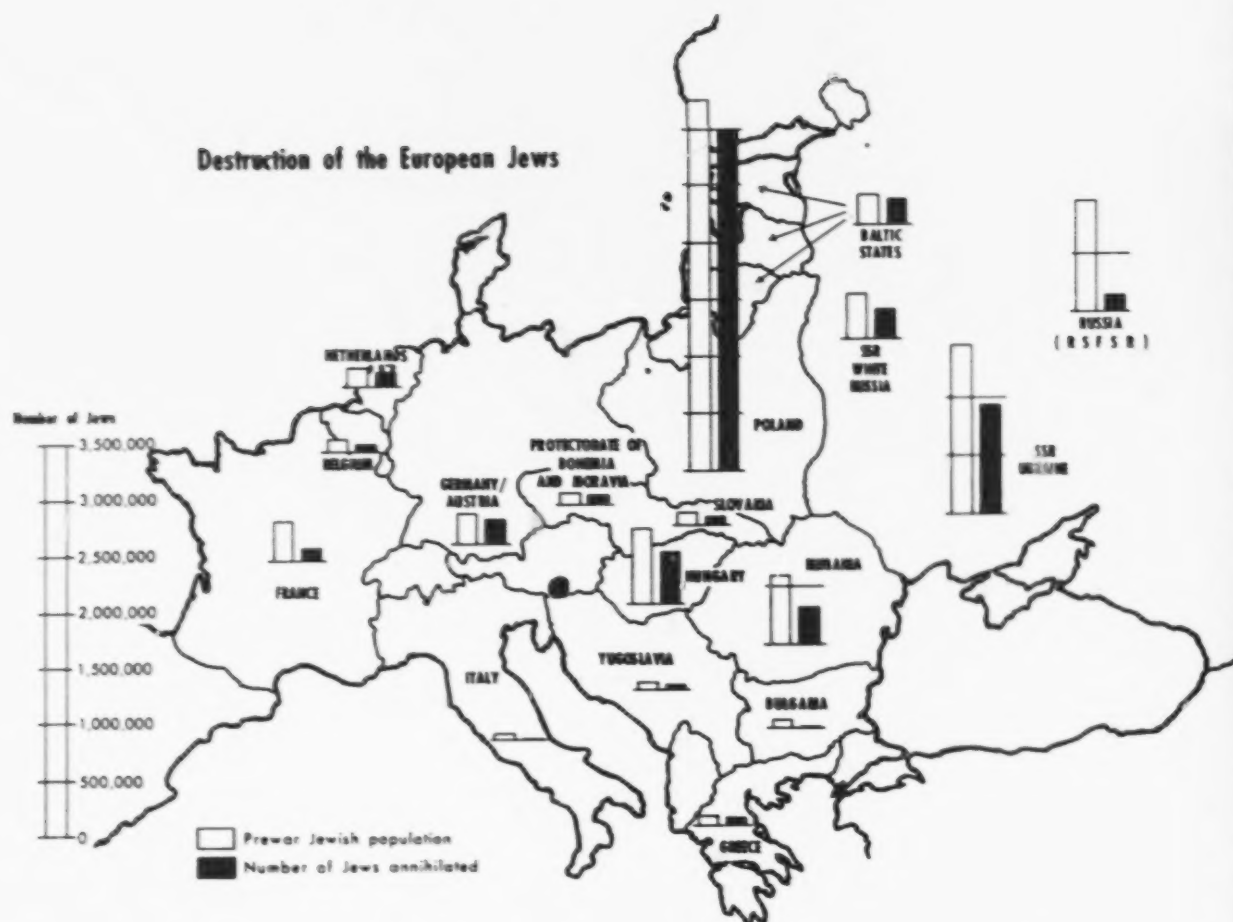
Theresienstadt (in Czech, Terezin) was a Czech town with 3,700 inhabitants in 1939, including only 10 Jewish families. On 10 October 1941 the town was chosen by the Nazis to be a ghetto for Jews not only from Bohemia and Moravia, but also from much of Europe, including Jews from Germany who had won first world war military decorations. Many of those deported to Theresienstadt were assimilated Jews.

While parading Theresienstadt as a "model settlement", the Nazis began, in January 1942, to deport the Jews to extermination camps in the east (after October 1942 to Auschwitz alone). On 23 July 1944 the Nazis showed the ghetto to the Red Cross, having first set up a false bank, a false cafe, false shops, and false kindergartens and schools. In reality, 33,529 Jews had died in the ghetto as a result of terrible conditions of overcrowding and lack of proper food and sanitation.



Many of those deported to Theresienstadt were artists, writers, musicians and scholars. Under Jewish leadership, several orchestras were founded, as well as both an operatic and a theatrical troupe. Lectures were organised (several dozen a week at times) and a library of 60,000 volumes opened. Jewish studies played a major part in these cultural activities. In August 1944 the Nazis made a film in the ghetto called: "New life of the Jews under the protection of the Third Reich". When the filming was finished most of the actors, as well as the Council of Elders, and almost all children of the Ghetto, were sent to Auschwitz and death.

Total number of Jews deported to Theresienstadt	140,937
This figure included:	
Jews dying in the ghetto from malnutrition and disease.	13,529
Jews transferred to death camps, 1942 - 1945.	88,741
Jews liberated when the Soviet Army entered Theresienstadt on 8 May 1945, the day of Nazi Germany's unconditional surrender.	17,247



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E. Perpetrators and Victims

Statement of Purpose:

In order to understand the impact and effects of the Nazi Holocaust, students must deal with the motivations and responses of those most closely involved, the perpetrators and the victims. Students must also understand that Poles, other Slavs, Gypsies, and other groups of people suffered along with the Jews of Europe.

Objectives:

- Students will explain how and why some of the victims and perpetrators of the Holocaust denied the reality of the Nazi Final Solution;
- Students will investigate the effects of the Holocaust on its victims, particularly children;
- Students will analyze the rationalizations given by the perpetrators of the Holocaust;
- Students will note that in addition to the 6 million Jewish victims of the Holocaust, other groups such as Polish Christians, other Slavs, Gypsies, homosexuals, and Jehovah's Witnesses were killed in Nazi concentration camps.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Handout E-1 focuses on the actions of the perpetrators of the Nazi Holocaust. Students should understand that these materials describe the actions of the Nazi leaders. Tens of thousands of other Nazis and collaborators in Nazi-occupied Europe also were responsible

for the torturing and killing of Holocaust victims.

After students read Handout E-1.1, ask them to summarize the role of Rudolf Hoess in the Nazi Final Solution. Handout E-1.2 details Eichmann's role in Bureau IV B 4. Ask students to describe how Eichmann rationalizes his role in the extermination process. What reasons do the Nazi officers quoted in Handout E-1.3 give for their roles in the Final Solution? Refer to the concept of obedience to authority. Ask students to explain how the perpetrators of the extermination process made their victims feel responsible for their own fate.

In discussing the issue of collaboration with the Nazis and with their extermination and enslavement policies, have students refer to the Introduction to Philip Friedman's *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978). Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* also provides useful information on this important topic. Have students respond to the argument, "If I hadn't done it, somebody else would have."

- The readings and pictures included in Handout E-2 describe the Nazi Holocaust from the point of view of its victims. As students read and study these materials, have them consider the following questions:
 - In Handout E-2.1, Elie Wiesel remarks, "But for the moment I was happy; I was near my father..." How was Wiesel responding to his enslavement at Auschwitz? How would you have responded to the responsibility of destruction of your family?

– What choices did the inmates of a ghetto, labor camp, and, finally, death camp have? What choices didn't they have?

– After studying the artwork from *The Death Train*, by Luba Krugman Gurdus, how would you describe the effects of the deportation and extermination process on the Holocaust victims? Dr. Gurdus survived Maydanek concentration camp and dedicated *The Death Train* to her son, Robert Michael Gurdus, and to the "million Jewish children who perished in the Holocaust."

– Why did the Nazis want to exterminate all Jewish children? Why did they want to enslave, exterminate, or kidnap the children of Poland and eastern Europe?

– To what extent did the Holocaust make adolescence even more difficult?

– How can one begin to estimate the vast human potential which is destroyed when children are murdered? (For example, what might Anne Frank have become?)

– What impact do you think the Holocaust had upon the children who survived and grew to be adults in the post-World War II world?

– In what ways does the Holocaust continue to deny its victims the dignity of a remembrance (e.g., grave markers, etc.)?

– Put the following statement on the chalkboard or on a transparency: "No one can invent a revenge for the murder of a child, for it is the greatest of all crimes." (Chaim Nachman Bialik, 1873-1934). Russian born, Bialik became the foremost national Hebrew poet. His writing inspired able-bodied men and

women to organize Jewish self-defense groups. He argued for the restoration of his historic Jewish homeland. In this quote he is referring to a pogrom in Ukraine in 1903. Ask students to react to this statement.

- As an extension of this section on the children of the Holocaust, you might ask students to investigate either historical or contemporary examples of genocides or violations of human rights to determine how children were treated. Ask:
 - How have children suffered?
 - What actions were taken to save these innocent victims?
 - Why would a ruler want to kill a nation's youth?
 - How did other nations of the world respond to these crimes against children?
 - What should be done to protect children and youth from future violations of their human rights?
- You might conclude these activities focusing on children of the Holocaust with the following writing activity.

Setting:

A young mother riding the crowded train to Auschwitz holds her baby in her arms. Suddenly, as the train slows down, she forces her way to a partially opened window. A kind-looking woman standing in a nearly empty field makes eye contact with the young mother. Without warning, the mother tosses the child to the surprised woman standing in the field. The Nazi guards do not notice. The train gains speed, moving away rapidly.

Task:

Write a diary entry describing the incident and your personal reaction from the viewpoint of one of the following:

- 1) the young mother
 - 2) the woman who catches the baby
 - 3) a horrified passenger who believes that the train passengers are truly going to work at Auschwitz
- Students should realize that although the Jews were the single largest group to be victimized by the Nazis, they were not the sole group to be caught up in the machinery of the Third Reich. Have students examine Handouts E-3 and E-4 and then identify the groups, other than Jews, who were also targets of Nazi racism.
 - What evidence is there that the murder of millions of non-Jewish “undesirables” was a reflection of Nazi racism?
 - What does Bohdan Wytwycky mean when he says: “Memories populated with skeletons die slowly”?
 - What were the Nazis’ plans for enslavement or extermination of these non-Jewish people?
 - According to Stanislaus Blejwas, how did Polish civilians suffer during the Nazi occupation? How were Polish children treated by the Nazis?
 - Who were the Gypsies? What were the Nazis’ plans for Europe’s Gypsies? How successful were the Nazis in exterminating the Gypsies?
 - As the Nazis overran Europe, their initial steps in the extermination process involved herding all Jews into Jewish ghettos located in conquered towns and cities. These Jewish ghettos were used as temporary holding stations on the rail links to the killing centers. As directed by Reinhard Heydrich, the Nazis appointed

Jewish leaders to serve as the “rulers,” or Judenrat, of these ghettos. (See Handout E-5.1.) The Judenrat’s functions included carrying out Nazi orders, collecting fines levied against the Jewish community, appointing volunteers for forced labor, and managing daily life in the overcrowded, unsanitary conditions of the ghetto. Members of these Jewish Councils, or Judenrate, were sometimes viewed as Nazi collaborators and sometimes seen as skillful and courageous leaders in their daily attempts to make life more tolerable for ghetto residents.

Adam Czerniakow was appointed the “Elder of the Jews” for the Warsaw Ghetto. Czerniakow was appointed to that position in October 1939 and held it until his death in 1942. Handout E-5.2 includes excerpts from Czerniakow’s diary. After students read this material, have them take a position on the issue of collaboration versus courage in regard to the role of the Judenrat. For more detailed information have students consult Isaiah Trunk’s *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe Under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Macmillan, 1972).

- Handouts E-6.1, E-6.2, E-7.1, and E-7.2 describe various aspects of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and reactions to it. E-6.1 serves as a brief overview of the Uprising. For more complete accounts, students should consult: Emanuel Ringelblum, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), and Vladka Meed, *On Both Sides of the Wall* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979). The film, “Warsaw Ghetto” (51 minutes, b/w, Anti-Defamation League), and the filmstrip, “Warsaw Ghetto: Holocaust and Resistance” (19 minutes, Jewish Labor Committee and Social Studies School Service), might also be used to supplement the Handouts. As students study the Warsaw Ghetto and Warsaw Ghetto Upris-

ing, they might prepare compositions which describe the Ghetto and explain how it served as a symbol of the Nazi Holocaust. For additional information about the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising have students consult:

- Janusz Korczak. *Ghetto Diary* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978).
- Janusz Korczak. *The Warsaw Ghetto: Memoirs of Janusz Korczak* (Washington, DC, 1978).

Handouts E-7.1 and E-7.2 serve a dual purpose. These Handouts describe the actions of Żegota, the Polish Underground Association for Aid to the Jews. This organization, appointed on September 27, 1942, assisted more than 4,000 Jewish children and adults in escaping from the Nazi terror. Żegota also played a role in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising by transporting and hiding Jews on the Aryan side. These Handouts should also be used when students study Unit III F.

- On August 1, 1944, the Polish citizens of Warsaw revolted against the Nazi forces occupying their city. Handout E-8 describes the Warsaw Rising and reviews Nazi plans as related to the Polish people. Students should refer again to Unit II B and Unit III B to make connections between Nazi anti-Slavic thought and Nazi actions. For more complete descriptions of the Warsaw Rising and the actions of the Polish Underground, have students consult the following sources:

- Stefan Korbonski. *Fighting Warsaw: The Story of the Polish Underground State, 1939-1945* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968).
- Julian Kulski. *Dying, We Live* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979).
- Jan Nowak. *Courier from Warsaw* (available from: Kosciuszko Foundation, 15 East 65 St., New York, NY 10021).

–J. F. Zawodny. *Nothing But Honour: The Warsaw Uprising, 1944* (available from: Kosciuszko Foundation, 15 East 65 St., New York, NY 10021).

- The materials included in Handouts E-9.1, E-9.2, and E-9.3 present overviews of the revolts that took place in the concentration camps. Using the map in Handout E-9.1, students might select a particular camp and complete a research project focusing on the ways the victims resisted, revolted, and, in some cases, survived. For more detailed accounts of resistance, particularly spiritual resistance in the death camps, have students consult one or more of the following sources:

- Terrence Des Pres. *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).
- Moshe Prager. *Sparks for Glory*.
- Irving J. Rosenbaum. *Holocaust and Halakhah* (New York: Ktav, nd).
- Bea Stadler. *The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance* (New York: Behrman House, 1974).
- Jean-Francois Steiner. *Treblinka* (New York: Signet, 1967).
- Yuri Suhl, editor. *They Fought Back: The Story of the Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975).

- The video cassette program, *Witness to the Holocaust: Resistance* (17 minutes), can be used to help students summarize the victims' responses to the Nazi plans for occupied Europe. You might introduce the tape with the following statement:

We often confront victims of injustice and demand to know what they did to defend themselves. This unfair human tendency requires that a victim prove that he or she resisted an attack before we will sympathize

with them. Innocent people who previously experienced pain are made to suffer the additional pain of being placed in the position of the accused. The perpetrators are nearly forgotten. If it is unjust to demand resistance of victims, why should we concern ourselves with the subject of resistance during the Holocaust? Truth is an important reason. It is equally important that we learn about acts of resistance because we must remember that human beings, even under the worst conditions, can find within themselves the strength to resist injustice.

Before showing the video cassette, ask students to list the forms of resistance in the ghettos, forests, and death camps.

After viewing the tape, ask the following questions:

- What forms did Jewish resistance take in the Nazi-created ghettos?
- How did people demonstrate resistance to Nazi dehumanization in the death camps?
- Survivors tell of feeling terribly alone in trying to resist the Nazis. What do they mean?
- Why do survivors take pride in the activities of the Jewish partisans?
- How are accounts of Jewish resistance helpful to us as we seek to understand better the nature of human beings?

- The map in Handout E-10 should be used to reinforce the information in Handouts E-3.1, E-3.2, and E-3.3. Students should conclude this section on perpetrators and victims by summarizing the effects of the Nazi Holocaust on all groups targeted for extermination, enslavement or deportation. Students should understand that by late 1940 all Jews were marked for extermination. The Slavic people of Poland and eastern Europe, the Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and other "lesser races" were also singled out for extermination,

enslavement or deportation. After studying Handout E-10 and referring to Handouts E-3.1 through E-3.3, students might prepare a written response to the question: How did the Nazis translate their racial thinking into action when they occupied Europe during World War II?

HANDOUT E-1.1

PERPETRATORS

Autobiography of Rudolf Hoess

Concentration Camp in Auschwitz (1940-1943)

I therefore became commandant of the quarantine camp which was to be built at Auschwitz.

It was far away, in the back of beyond, in Poland. There the inconvenient Hoess could exercise his passion for work to his heart's content. That was what Glucks, the Inspector of Concentration Camps, had intended. It was in these circumstances that I took up my new task.

I had never anticipated being made a commandant so quickly, especially as some very senior protective custody camp commanders had been waiting a long time for a commandant's post to fall vacant.

• • •

I must emphasize here that I have never personally hated the Jews. It is true that I looked upon them as the enemies of our people. But just because of this I saw no difference between them and the other prisoners, and I treated them all in the same way. I never drew any distinctions. In any event the emotion of hatred is foreign to my nature. But I know what hate is, and what it looks like. I have seen it and I have suffered it myself.

When the **Reichsfuehrer** SS modified his original Extermination Order of 1941, by which all Jews without exception were to be destroyed, and ordered instead that those capable of work were to be separated from the rest and employed in the armaments industry, Auschwitz became a

Taken from: *KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS* (Panstwowe Muzeum W. Oswiecimiu). Used by permission of the Consulate General of Poland.

Jewish camp. It was a collecting place for Jews, exceeding in scale anything previously known.⁶¹

Whereas the Jews who had been imprisoned in former years were able to count on being released one day⁶² and were thus far less affected psychologically by the hardships of captivity, the Jews in Auschwitz no longer had any such hope. They knew, without exception, that they were condemned to death, that they would live only so long as they could work.

Nor did the majority have any hope of a change in their sad lot. They were fatalists. Patiently and apathetically, they submitted to all the misery and distress and terror. The hopelessness with which they accepted their impending fate made them psychologically quite indifferent to their surroundings. This mental collapse accelerated its physical equivalent. They no longer had the will to live, everything had become a matter of indifference to them, and they would succumb to the slightest physical shock. Sooner or later, death was inevitable. I firmly maintain from what I have seen that the high mortality among the Jews was due not only to the hard work, to which most of them were unaccustomed, and to the insufficient food, the overcrowded quarters and the severities and abuses of camp life, but principally and decisively to their psychological state.⁶³

• • •

⁶¹ Hitler changed his decision because there was a growing demand for manpower needed by armaments plants and such industries which were busy producing for the army. There arose the necessity of employing fresh workers to replace the Germans called up for military service.

⁶² Such possibilities existed solely in the period preceding the so-called "Crystal Night".

⁶³ The high death rate of the Jewish population was also caused by extremely hard conditions of existence in ghettos where Jews were not only strictly separated from the rest of the population but also had to do the hardest work receiving starvation food rations. Even before being brought to the camp the Jews were starving and terrified by all that was inflicted on them and their families during their stay in the ghettos.

The Final Solution of the Jewish Question in Auschwitz Concentration Camp

In the summer of 1941, I cannot remember the exact date, I was suddenly summoned to the **Reichsfuehrer** SS, directly by his adjutant's office. Contrary to his usual custom, Himmler received me without his adjutant being present and said in effect:

"The **Fuehrer** has ordered that the Jewish question be solved once and for all and that we, the SS, are to implement that order.

The existing extermination centers in the east² are not in a position to carry out the large actions which are anticipated. I have therefore earmarked Auschwitz for this purpose, both because of its good position as regards communications and because the area can easily be isolated and camouflaged. At first I thought of calling in a senior SS officer for this job, but I changed my mind in order to avoid difficulties concerning the terms of reference. I have now decided to entrust this task to you. It is difficult and onerous and calls for complete devotion notwithstanding the difficulties that may arise. You will learn further details from **Sturmbannfuehrer** Eichmann of the Reich Security Head Office who will call on you in the immediate future.

The departments concerned will be notified by me in due course. You will treat this order as absolutely secret, even from your superiors. After your talk with Eichmann you will immediately forward to me the plans of the projected installations.

The Jews are the sworn enemies of the German people and must be eradicated. Every Jew that

² Himmler most likely thought here about the lands of the Soviet Union where "**Einsatzgruppen**" were "liquidating" its civilian inhabitants regarded as "objectionable element". The "liquidating" took at first the form of mass shooting, next, victims were killed with combustion gases in lorries especially adapted for the purpose.

HANDOUT E-1.1 (cont.)

we can lay our hands on is to be destroyed now during the war, without exception. If we cannot now obliterate the biological basis of Jewry, the Jews will one day destroy the German people."

On receiving these grave instructions, I returned forthwith to Auschwitz, without reporting to my superior at Oranienburg.

Shortly afterwards Eichmann came to Auschwitz and disclosed to me the plans for the operations as they affected the various countries concerned. I cannot remember the exact order in which they were to take place. First was to come the eastern part of Upper Silesia and the neighbouring parts of Polish territory under German rule, then, depending on the situation, simultaneously Jews from Germany and Czechoslovakia, and finally the Jews from the West: France, Belgium and Holland. He also told me the approximate numbers of transports that might be expected, but I can no longer remember these.

We discussed the ways and means of effecting the extermination. This could only be done by gassing, since it would have been absolutely impossible to dispose by shooting of the large numbers of people that were expected, and it would have placed too heavy a burden on the SS men who had to carry it out, especially because of the women and children among the victims.

Eichmann told me about the method of killing people with exhaust gases in lorries, which had previously been used in the east. But there was no question of being able to use this for these mass transports that were due to arrive in Auschwitz. Killing with showers of carbon monoxide while bathing, as was done with mental patients in some places in the Reich, would necessitate too many buildings and it was also very doubtful whether the supply of gas for such a vast number

of people would be available. We left the matter unresolved. Eichmann decided to try and find a gas which was in ready supply and which would not entail special installations for its use, and to inform me when he had done so. We inspected the area in order to choose a likely spot. We decided that a peasant farmstead situated in the north-west corner of what later became the third building sector at Birkenau would be the most suitable. It was isolated and screened by woods and hedges, and it was also not far from the railway. The bodies could be placed in long, deep pits dug in the nearby meadows. We had not at that time thought of burning the corpses. We calculated that after gas-proofing the premises then available, it would be possible to kill about 800 people simultaneously with a suitable gas. These figures were borne out later in practice.

Eichmann could not then give me the starting date for the operation because everything was still in the preliminary stages and the **Reichsfuehrer SS** had not yet issued the necessary orders.

Eichmann returned to Berlin to report our conversation to the **Reichsfuehrer SS**.

A few days later I sent to the **Reichsfuehrer SS** by courier a detailed location plan and description of the installation. I have never received an acknowledgment or a decision on my report. Eichmann told me later that the **Reichsfuehrer SS** was in agreement with my proposals....

HANDOUT E-1.2

EICHMANN INTERROGATED

Transcripts from the Archives
of the Israeli Police

Jochen von Lang
Claus Sibyll

The following transcript was made during an interview with Adolf Eichmann prior to his trial and execution. The interviewer was Israeli Police Captain Avner Less.

CAPTAIN LESS: In the English edition of Rudolf Hoess's book *Commandant of Auschwitz* there are some things about you that are missing in the German edition. I've translated them for you and I'm going to read them to you: "I became acquainted with Eichmann after I received orders for exterminating the Jews from the Reichsfuehrer-SS. He came to see me in Auschwitz to discuss the details of the extermination process with me. Eichmann was a lively, active man in his thirties, always bursting with energy. He was always hatching new plans and always in search of innovations and improvements. He could never rest. He was obsessed with the Jewish question and the order that had been given for its solution. He had regularly to give the Reichsfuehrer-SS direct, oral reports about the preparation and implementation of the various actions. Eichmann was convinced that if he succeeded in destroying the biological foundation of Jewry in the East, Jewry as a whole would never recover from this blow." Do you wish to say something?

EICHMANN: Basically, I reject all that as untrue, totally untrue. I'm covered with guilt, Herr Hauptmann, I know that. But I had nothing to do with killing Jews. I've never killed a Jew. And I've never ordered anyone to kill a Jew.

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And I know that no one can produce a document proving...that I've ever done such a thing. I never did. Maybe that's what gives me a certain peace of mind. I'm guilty, because I helped with the evacuation. I'm ready to pay for that. For me it was a kind of inner tranquilizer – so to speak – to say to myself: Yes, I know, enormous shipments are going out for labor service, but after all, an age limit has been set. Later on, everything went topsy-turvy, they just crammed the evacuees in – but it wasn't in my province. I wasn't responsible for the detailed implementation...the practical details of the evacuations, only for carrying out the order from above...that an evacuation should take place. And I had to set up the guidelines for implementation, because those were the Reichsfuehrer's orders. For instance, he said: "No one is to take any more with him than the Germans who were driven out by the French." After the First World War, he meant, from Alsace-Lorraine, or later from the Rhineland and the Ruhr. I had to find out; at that time, fifty kilos of luggage were allowed.

Editor's Note: In referring to measures taken by the Allies, primarily by the French in their occupation of the Rhineland and the Ruhr in the years after the First World War, Eichmann was deliberately disregarding the fact that, for one thing, the two "deportations" ended very differently. The deported Germans were not sent to a foreign country; they were not prisoners, let alone forced laborers, and could be sure of finding help in unoccupied Germany.

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EICHMANN: Herr Hauptmann, Bureau IV B,* never received extermination orders. Never! Its work was transportation and nothing else, subject of course to certain conditions. For instance, it could never send out an order to Paris or The Hague or Brussels saying: "Load a thou-

* Bureau IV B, was the "Office for Jewish Emigration" which Eichmann administered from the beginning of the deportations to the end. This Bureau transported Jews, Gypsies, Poles and others to their deaths.

sand people into a train." There were always guidelines to be followed. The evacuating authority had to know what was being done and what people were involved. Naturally, Bureau IV B, – this I must admit – had to pass on this information in accordance with orders from above.

LESS: And that was purely a matter of transportation?

EICHMANN: Of course not. But no implementation was possible without guidelines.

LESS: It just happened to be a special mission. Right? A special problem – the extermination of the Jews – had to be solved, and, as you say, this problem was imposed on you from above.

EICHMANN: One thing is certain, Herr Hauptmann: IV B, never decided anything on the strength of its own judgment and authority. It never would have entered my head to mess myself up with a decision of my own. And neither, as I've said before, did any of my staff ever make a decision of his own. All decisions were based on (a) the relevant Reich laws and accompanying implementation orders; (b) the police regulations, the decrees, orders, and instructions of Himmler and the head of the Security Police – those were our legislative bases – if you don't mind the term – in quotes, of course. The loyalty oath in itself called for unquestioning obedience. So naturally we had to comply with the laws and regulations.

LESS: Did the law of the Reich provide for the final solution of the Jewish question?

EICHMANN: The final solution itself – I mean, the special mission given to Heydrich – to put it bluntly, the extermination of the Jews, was not provided for by Reich law. It was a Fuehrer's Order, a so-called Fuehrer's Order. And Himmler and Heydrich and Pohl, the head of Administration and Supply – each had his own part in the implementation of this Fuehrer's Order. According to the then prevailing interpretation, which no one questioned, the Fuehrer's orders had the force of law. Not only in this case. In every case. That is common

HANDOUT E-1.2 (cont.)

knowledge. The Fuehrer's orders have the force of law.

• • •

EICHMANN: Perhaps on this occasion I may be permitted to say a few words *pro domo*. I am neither a Jew-hater nor an anti-Semite. I said that to Dr. Lowenherz and Kommerzialrat Storfer at the Vienna Central Office for Emigration and I said the same thing to Dr. Kastner in Budapest. I think I said it to everyone. Everyone heard it at least once. My men knew it. I never had any trouble with the Jewish functionaries. And I don't think any of them would complain about me.

LESS: How do you account for the fact that gassing was being done and that all the persons involved in this gassing point their finger at Eichmann and Bureau IV B?

EICHMANN: Well, that is a...that's just the funny part of it. Because we had nothing to do with it, nothing whatever...We had nothing to do with it. Nothing! Nothing! Nothing!

LESS: And all these statements are —

EICHMANN: Officially I...officially I had...Officially we had nothing to do with it, and unofficially I wasn't interested. I had...I had nothing to do with these things, I can tell you truthfully. And nobody here will ever prove the contrary.

LESS: But did you have official knowledge that gassing was going on?

EICHMANN: I knew it, of course I knew.

LESS: What was your attitude toward the total physical destruction of the Jewish people in the framework of the final solution of the Jewish question?

EICHMANN: I've already told you, Herr Hauptmann, that then...when I heard for the first time that...that...that...I felt as if someone had hit me over the head. And when I saw those

first things, I've told you that too, I went weak in the knees. That's, that is a fact, and I was very glad in all those years that I had nothing to do with the killing. I had nothing to do with the killing.

LESS: But didn't deportation amount to killing?

EICHMANN: Herr Hauptmann, I've already told you...it wasn't my job to decide who was drawn into the work process and who was not. I had orders to deport. And when my colleague Wisliceny writes in his confessions that there were ways of circumventing Hitler's orders, I'd be glad to know what those ways were. I say: There was one way and only one way: to take a pistol and shoot yourself. That's obvious. I didn't.

LESS: In other words, you weren't opposed?

EICHMANN: I obeyed. Regardless of what I was ordered to do, I would have obeyed. Certainly, I would have obeyed. I obeyed, I obeyed. I can't shed my skin, Herr Hauptmann. I...that was my attitude at the time, and that's the way it was. When I received an order, I obeyed. An oath is an oath. In the observance of that oath, I was uncompromising. Today I'd never take an oath. No one could make me, no judge for instance, could make me take a witness's oath. I refuse; I refuse on moral grounds. Because I've learned by experience that if you let yourself be bound by an oath, you'll have to take the consequences someday. I see that today we have to pay for it because we never forgot our oath and that made us obey. If I hadn't obeyed then, I'd have been punished then. so which . . . whichever way things turn out, it's always bad to take an oath.

• • •

HANDOUT E-1.3

A set of official instructions to a German soldier fighting on the Eastern Front:

"Morning, noon, and night always think of the Fuehrer. Let no other thoughts disturb you...for you, a German soldier, are invincible. For your personal glory, you must kill one- hundred Russians.... Kill every Russian and Soviet. Do not hesitate if it be an old man or woman (or) a little girl who is in your way.... A German is the absolute master of the world...."

"During the reign of National Socialism, I know only one mode of conduct: to carry out the orders of superiors without reservation. I did not ask to be stationed in Auschwitz. Today I realize that the idea I believed in spelled disaster and that it was wrong. It has been said here that I conducted rigorous interrogations as ordered. But what I saw at the time was not Auschwitz as a terrible extermination site of European Jewry, but the fight against the Polish resistance movement and Bolshevism."

Wilhelm Boger
Former Member of Auschwitz Gestapo

"I took part in the murder of many people. I often asked myself after the war whether I had become a criminal because, being a dedicated National Socialist, I had murdered men, and I found no answer. I believed in the Fuehrer; I wanted to serve my people. Today I know that this idea was false. I regret the mistakes of my past, but I cannot undo them."

Hans Stark
Former Member of Auschwitz Gestapo

HANDOUT E-2.1

VICTIMS

Elie Wiesel in Night

An SS non-commissioned officer came to meet us, a truncheon in his hand. He gave the order: "Men to the left. Women to the right." Eight words spoken quietly, indifferently, without emotion. Eight short, simple words. Yet that was the moment when I parted from my mother. I had not had time to think, but already I felt the pressure of my father's hand: we were alone. For a part of a second I glimpsed my mother and sisters moving away to the right. Tzipora held mother's hand. I saw them disappear into the distance; my mother was stroking my sister's fair hair, as though to protect her, while I walked with my father and the other men. And I did not know that in that place, at that moment, I was parting from my mother and Tzipora forever. I went on walking. My father held onto my hand....

We continued our march toward the square. In the middle stood the notorious Dr. Mengele (a typical SS officer; a cruel face, but not devoid of intelligence, and wearing a monocle); a conductor's baton in his hand, he was standing among the other officers. The baton moved unrelentingly, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left.

I was already in front of him: How old are you? he asked, in an attempt at a paternal tone of voice.

"Eighteen," my voice was shaking.

"Are you in good health?"

"Yes."

"What's your occupation?"

"Farmer," I heard myself say.

This conversation cannot have lasted more than a few seconds. It had seemed like an eternity to me.

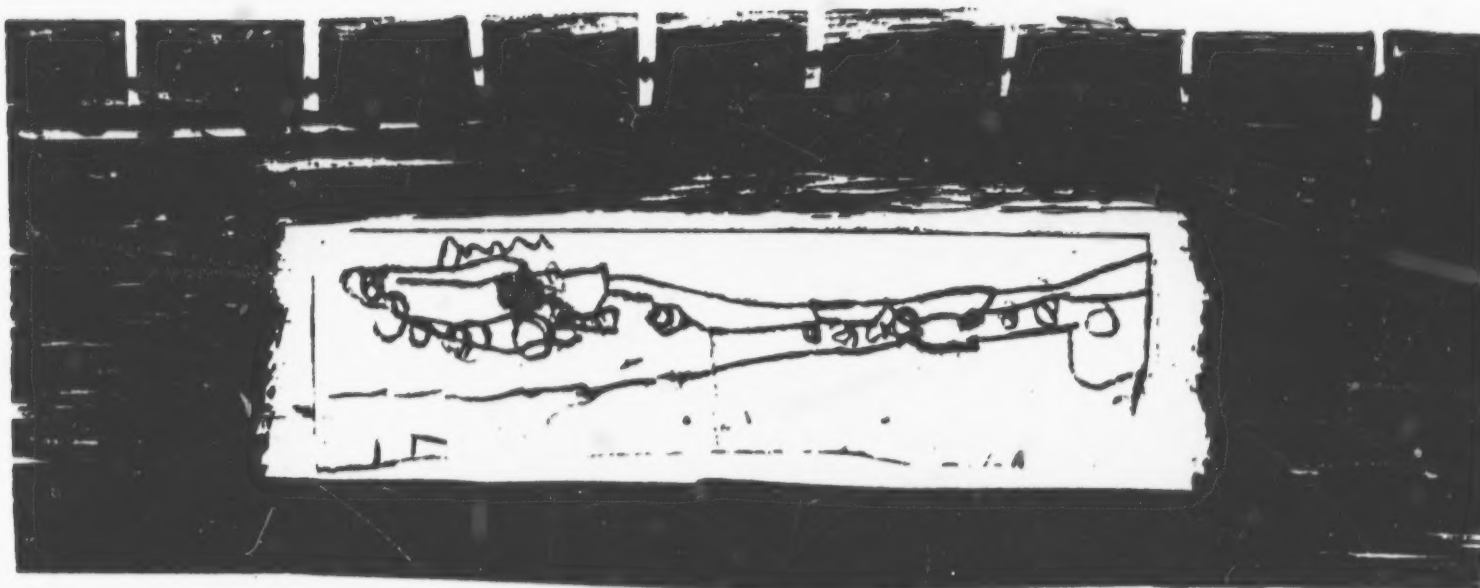
The baton moved to the left. I took half a step forward. I wanted to see first where they were sending my father. If he went to the right, I would go after him.

The baton once again pointed to the left for him too.
A weight was lifted from my heart.

We did not know which was the better side, right or left; which road led to prison and which to crematory. But for the moment I was happy; I was near my father...

Selection from *Night* by Elie Wiesel, translated by Stella Rodway. English translation (c) MacGibbon & Kee, 1960. Reprinted by permission of Hill and Wang, a division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc.

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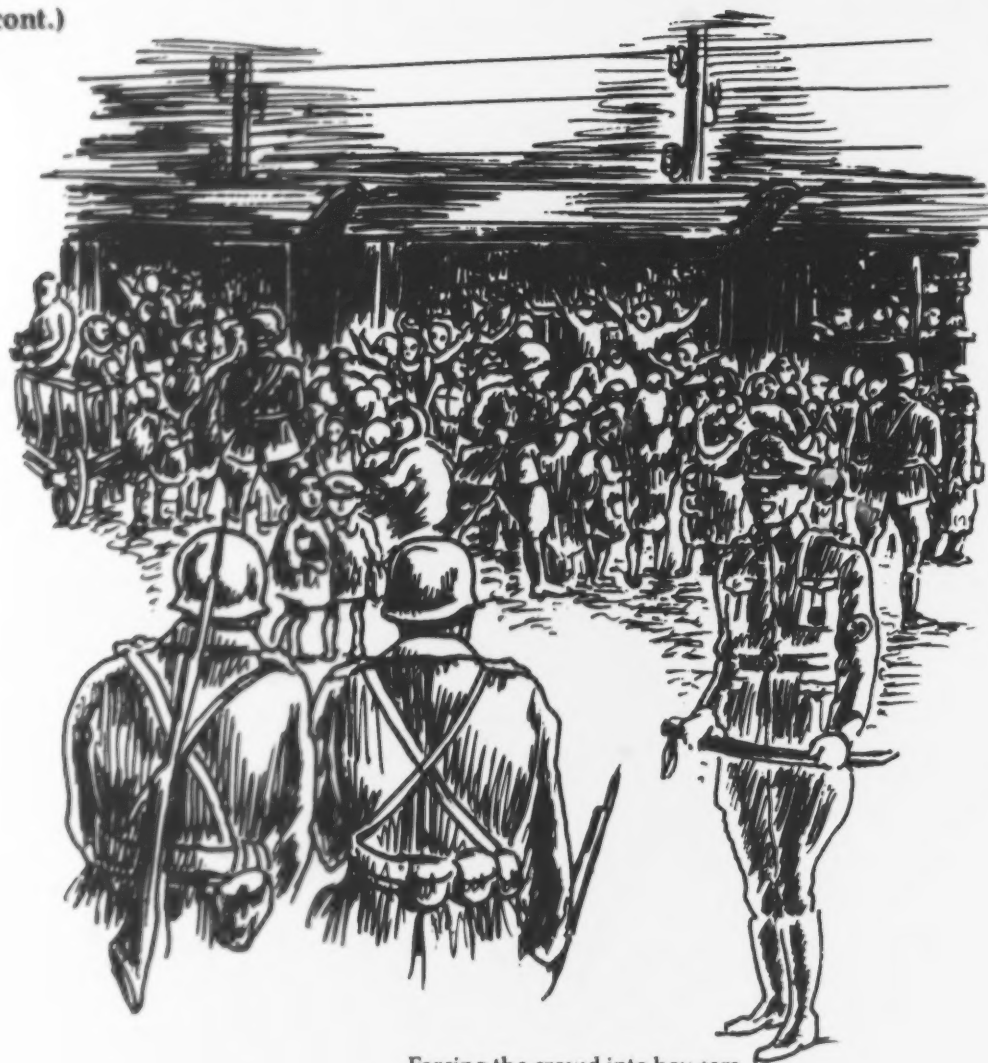


The "Death Train"
Drawing by Robert (Bobus) Michael Gurdus (1938-1942)

Taken from: Luba Krugman Gurdus. *The Death Train. A Personal Account of a Holocaust Survivor* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), p. 91. Used by permission of Dr. Luba Krugman Gurdus and the Holocaust Library.

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HANDOUT E-2.2 (cont.)



Forcing the crowd into box cars

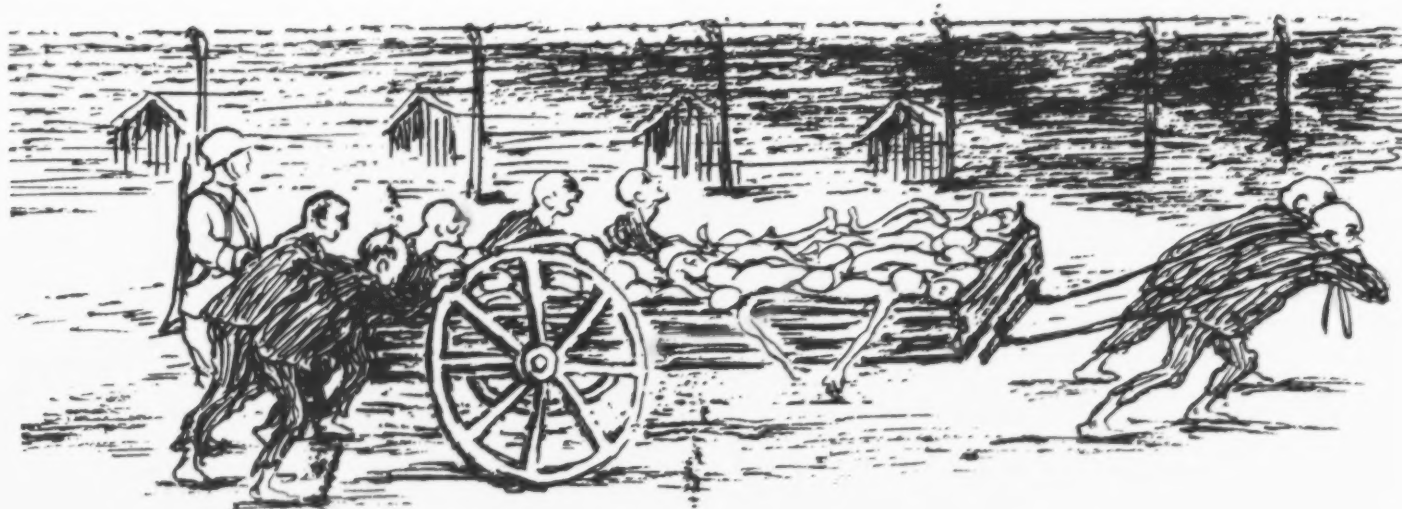
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HANDOUT E-2.2 (cont.)



Waiting for trains

Taken from: Luba Krugman Gurdus. *The Death Train. A Personal Account of a Holocaust Survivor* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), p. 112-113. Used by permission of Dr. Luba Krugman Gurdus and the Holocaust Library.



Toward the Crematorium
Maydanek Concentration Camp

Taken from: Luba Krugman Gurdus. *The Death Train. A Personal Account of a Holocaust Survivor* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), p. 126. Used by permission of Dr. Luba Krugman Gurdus and the Holocaust Library.

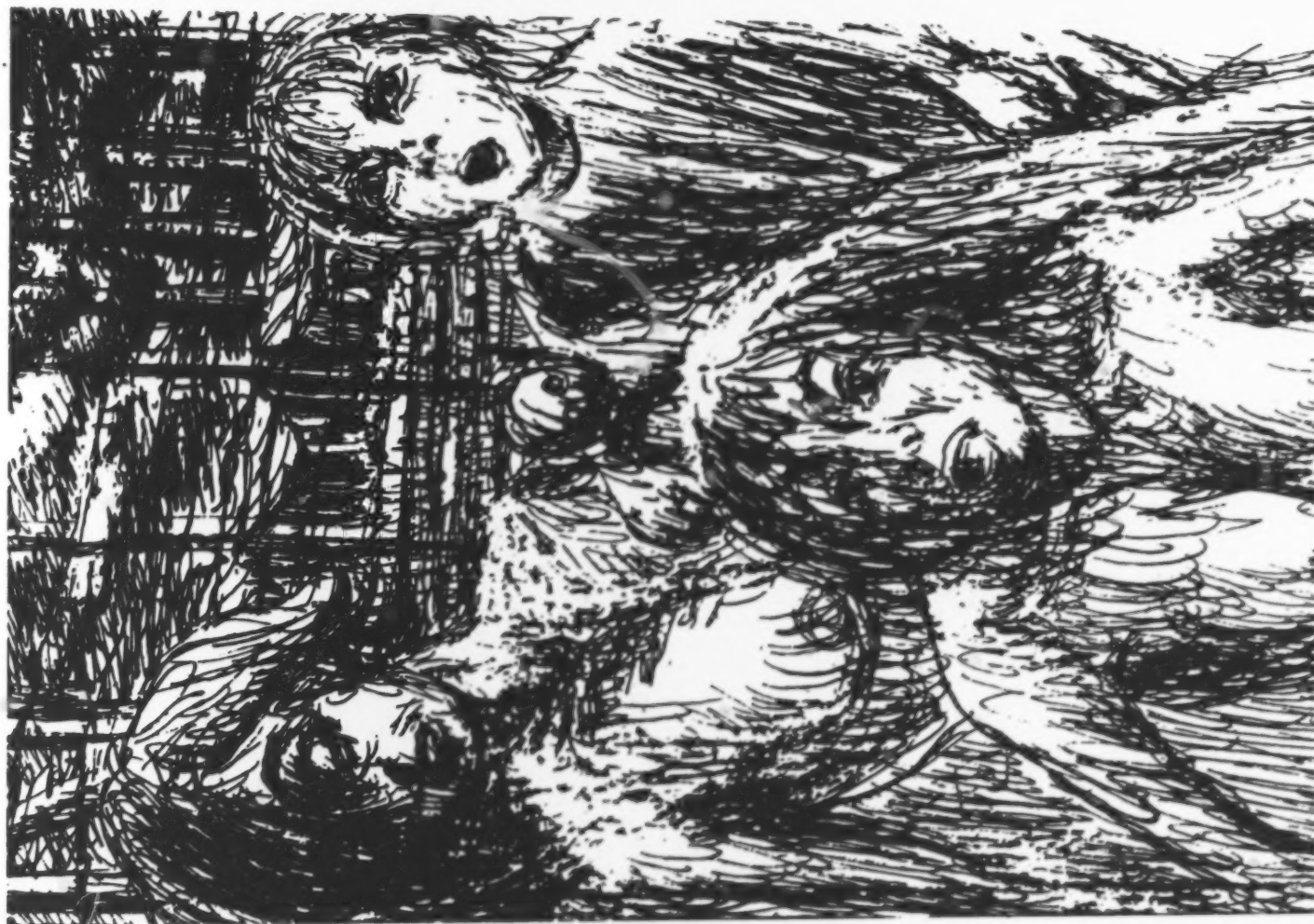
HANDOUT E-2.2 (cont.)



**Jews in Maydanek:
1. Starvation**

Taken from: Luba Krugman Gurdus. *The Death Train. A Personal Account of a Holocaust Survivor* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), p. 130. Used by permission of Dr. Luba Krugman Gurdus and the Holocaust Library.

HANDOUT E-2.2 (cont.)



Jews in Maydanek:
2. Degradation

Taken from: Luba Krugman Gurdus. *The Death Train. A Personal Account of a Holocaust Survivor* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), p. 131. Used by permission of Dr. Luba Krugman Gurdus and the Holocaust Library.



Jews in Maydanek
3. Death

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Taken from: Luba Krugman Gurdus. *The Death Train. A Personal Account of a Holocaust Survivor* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), p. 133. Used by permission of Dr. Luba Krugman Gurdus and the Holocaust Library.

FORCED LABOR, BUILDING A TUNNEL

David Olere



Taken from: *This Shall Tell All Ages*. Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10021. Used by permission of Kibbutz Lochamei Haghettaot.

HANDOUT E-2.3

CHILDREN OF THE HOLOCAUST

"Even in times of savagery the most brutish barbarians were not devoid of a human spark. For they did usually spare the children. This cannot be said of the Hitlerite beast who is out to devour the most precious ones, the ones who arouse the greatest compassion – innocent children."

Emmanuel Ringelblum

"No one can invent a revenge for the murder of a child, for it is the greatest of all crimes."

Chaim Nachman Bialik

You are a small child. A powerful force invades your country. You are expelled from school and forced to wear a humiliating badge on your clothes. Your parents are afraid to go outside and forbid you to leave the house. One night, they take away your father. Your turn will come soon. You wonder what terrible crime you have committed to deserve such unjust punishment. The explanations make no sense. You find yourself stripped of everything that once gave you comfort and security. Finally, you are alone.

This is no fiendish fantasy. It is history. In the period from 1930 to 1945, as many as two million Jewish children lost their lives, more than half of them in Nazi death camps. Jews of tender age were of no use to the "master race" and of little concern to the nations of the world.

It has been said that children have a way of dying quietly. They are the most vulnerable group of any society and suffer most in times of great upheaval. The vast majority of Holocaust children vanished without a trace. Their graves

are not marked and all too often no one survived to keep their memories alive. Fortunately, some scattered diaries, drawings, and poems by children were uncovered after the war, works we hold sacred. We have also learned something about the plight of children in this period from the memoirs of survivors and other witnesses.

• • •

"MOMMY, I DON'T WANT TO DIE"

Aron Hirt-Manheimer

Being a Jewish child was a crime punishable by death in Nazi-occupied Europe during World War II. Indeed, Jewish youngsters from infancy to puberty were among the first victims to be rounded up for deportation to Nazi death camps. They were considered to be worthless as slave laborers in the German war effort. Auschwitz commander Rudolph Hoess admitted "children of tender years were invariably exterminated since by reason of their youth they were unable to work." Gestapo chief Heinrich Himmler, the master executioner of Nazi Germany, made certain that the "racially non-valuable" would never become "the most dangerous avengers of their parents."

An estimated 2,000,000 Jewish children perished in Europe from 1939 to 1942. They were subjected to every conceivable form of torture and death, from starvation in the ghettos to mutilation in concentration camp "medical" laboratories. Two million children who so wanted to live and who could have contributed so much to humanity were routinely swept away like so much litter. And all the while the nations of the so-called civilized world watched in blind silence.

Who were these children? We know them from their diaries, their poems, their drawings, and their memoirs. Anne Frank in Amsterdam and the children in Terezin have touched the conscience of millions of people around the world. We also know them from the stories that other survivors have written. What emerges is a portrait of individual courage combined with unshakable family loyalty. Here are some of their stories.

Eight-year-old Rifke K, who came to Palestine from Sosnovice, Poland, with her mother and sister in January 1943, related the following incidents which show how children learned to cope with Nazi brutality and sometimes saved their parents' lives (from *Rescued Children*, by Bracha Chabbas).

When Germans knocked at the door I used to open it at once. It was best to open immediately before they began shooting through the door, or they might even do something worse than that. In the beginning the German soldiers didn't beat women and children. But afterwards they made no distinction and they used to hit everybody. They even hit grandpa with a rubber-topped whip. I used to cry bitterly when a German came into the house. Later I stopped crying—what was the use? I was quiet, but my heart beat fast from fear. The Germans didn't beat children, they killed them at once, or else they took them away with them. When one German came into the house, it wasn't so bad. Because there were a few good Germans, but, only when they were on their own, they wouldn't hurt children. Once a German came to our house for inspection and there was some meat cooking in a pot in the kitchen. To eat meat was a terrible sin. I went into the kitchen and hid the pot. The German followed me and he saw what I was doing. I thought, well, this is the end, he is going to shoot me. But he didn't do a thing.

Another time some German soldiers

Taken from: Aron Hirt-Manheimer. *Keeping Posted. Children of the Holocaust*. Vol. XXV. Ed. 2. 1979. p. 2. Reprinted by permission of Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 638 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

Taken from: Aron Hirt-Manheimer. *Keeping Posted. Children of the Holocaust*. Vol. XXV. Ed. 2. 1979. p. 3. Reprinted by permission of Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 638 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

HANDOUT E-2.3 (cont.)

were chasing two Jewish girls. These girls were neighbors of ours and in their fright they ran into our house and mother hid them. The Germans burst into our house and asked us if the girls were hiding there. Mother said she had seen nothing. They searched the house and they found both of the girls. They wanted to take mother away with them as well. But I lifted up my voice and cried bitterly, so did my sister, we cried with all our might until the Germans let mother go.

• • •

THE DIARY OF A YOUNG GIRL

Anne Frank

"For in its innermost depths youth is lonelier than old age." I read this saying in some book and I've always remembered it and found it to be true. Is it true then that grownups have a more difficult time here than we do? No, I know it isn't. Older people have formed their opinions about everything and don't waver before they act. It's twice as hard for us young ones to hold our ground, and maintain our opinions. In a time when all ideals are being shattered and destroyed, when people are showing their worst side and do not know whether to believe in truth and right and God.

Anyone who claims that the older ones have a more difficult time here certainly doesn't realize to what extent our problems weigh down on us, problems for which we are probably much too young but which thrust themselves upon us continually, until after a long time, we think we've found a solution, but the solution doesn't seem able to resist the facts which reduce it to nothing

Taken from: Anne Frank. *The Diary of a Young Girl*. Copyright (c) 1952 by Otto H. Frank. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday & Company, Inc.

again. That's the difficulty in these times; ideals, dreams, and cherished hopes rise within us, only to meet the horrible truth and be shattered.

It's really a wonder that I haven't dropped all my ideals, because they seem so absurd and impossible to carry out. Yet I keep them, because in spite of everything, I still believe that people are really good at heart. I simply can't build up my hopes on a foundation consisting of confusion, misery, and death. I see the world gradually being turned into a wilderness. I hear the ever-approaching thunder, which will destroy us, too. I can feel the sufferings of millions and yet, if I look up into the heavens, I think that it will all come right, that this cruelty too will end, and that peace and tranquility will return again.

In the meantime, I must uphold my ideals, for perhaps the time will come when I shall be able to carry them out.

• • •

14 MONTHS IN A SEWER

My father found out that the ghetto in Lvov was to be liquidated at midnight. We went to hide in the basement of a nearby barrack. We usually went down there in the afternoon when mother returned from work and that is where we hid, for we were expecting the big 'operation.' I was seven years old at that time and my brother, Pawel, was three. From that basement we went out to the Peltew River, walked straight ahead until we came to the sewer. It was terribly wet and dark in the sewer when I entered it; I was so terribly afraid and I was shivering from sheer terror. I behaved very quietly all the time but constantly

Taken from: Wladislaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin. *Righteous Among Nations* (London: Earls Court Publications, 1969). Used by permission of Wladislaw Bartoszewski.

asked my father if it was still far away. There were some stones in the sewer, and yellow worms crawling over them. We put all our things on these stones and sat on them. We felt very bad, water was leaking from the walls, and there was a terrible stench which was impossible to bear. I saw some big rats like chickens which ran near us. At first I was horrified but later I got used to it. Pawel was not afraid at all. I was lying in mother's lap and Pawel was on father's knees. This went on day and night for five weeks. We could not move about or stand up. There were twenty other people. Every day, from the first day, some Polish sewer-cleaners brought us food: black bread and margarine. They were very good to us. Since they were afraid that someone might notice them, they used to come into the sewer via different entrances through manholes they opened.... A carbide lamp constantly burned in the sewer; it was hanging on a hook driven in between the stones. The Poles brought us carbide for this lamp. Daddy brought water in a jug which he carried in his teeth as he had to walk doubled right over. I felt so very bad there; I was not allowed to speak out loud, I could only whisper into mummy's ear...

This was in the summer, and when it rained the rain would leak into the sewer and when someone flushed a toilet the sewer would fill with water. Then we had to lean low on the stones near the wall so that the water would not run over us. Pawel was very small at the time and he cried often. Mummy became very worried for she was afraid someone would hear and we would be caught. One time a man who had been hiding out with us became so angry with Pawel that he even threatened him with a revolver. But that did not help for Pawel started crying even louder....(Discovered, they fled with the help of their saviors to hide in another sewer.)

In this new sewer we felt much better, had

HANDOUT E-2.3 (cont.)

more room, and slept on bunks made of planks which daddy built from boards he found in the sewer. There were four such bunks. I slept with daddy and another man. It was very crowded and uncomfortable; I was cramped like a herring in a barrel. My mummy slept with Pawel and some other woman. We had one carbide lamp which burned day and night. The rats used to eat our bread and when daddy frightened them away with a stick they would run away. And Pawel fed the rats like chickens, throwing them bread crumbs and boiled potatoes. The rats would come very close and squeak. But Pawel was not afraid of them in the least. We had a few plates and a primus stove. All this had been brought by our good sewer-cleaners. One woman cooked soup and coffee and mummy divided it among us so that I was not hungry. Pawel got used to everything and he no longer cried. One grey-haired, bent, old woman fell ill and died. And another woman gave birth to a baby. But it died and it was thrown into the Peltew River. Two girls took turns at "duty" and kept the place clean. The lamp was on all the time so I never knew if it was daytime or nighttime. But I guessed that it must be daytime when the sewer-cleaners came. Whenever it rained, the rain leaked into our shelter by way of a pipe through which we could barely make out some bars and a faint light. Sometimes I saw a ray of sunshine, but it was very pale. Once I went into that pipe to look out at the world but I saw nothing; I only felt a little bit of fresh air. I craved so much for the sun and fresh air that I cannot describe it. I could hear cars drive past right on top of us, I heard people's voices and the gay laughter of children playing. I often thought how happy I would be if only I could play like they did...

I became ill with measles, at least that is what mummy said, and Pawel caught it from me, and

then he developed a hoarseness. One of the sewer-cleaners brought him eggs; the man had to carry them in his teeth because he had a satchel of food in his hands and he had to crawl on all fours to reach us.

One time the primus stove burst into flame and a fire started. Everyone was very frightened; at the first moment some rags were thrown on the primus, but they caught fire too. Then the primus stove was covered with some burnt-out carbide and the fire was put out. I was very frightened, and Pawel, who was even more frightened than I was, ran up on the highest board and hid there. When the fire had been put out everybody was all smeared with soot and we all looked like scarecrows. On another occasion, the next summer, there was a flood. After a bad storm, driving rain started and it flooded our hiding place. Our friends started to throw the water back into the pipes with the help of shovels, so that the water started to go down.

We spent fourteen months this way, and our sewer-cleaners helped us out throughout the entire period. When we became short of money they brought us food for free.

At the end of our stay I heard the wail of sirens and the shooting of guns; I was terrified even though I knew that our liberators, the Russians, were approaching. Then one day we heard some loud banging at the bars of the sewer. It was our sewer-cleaners letting us know that we were free.

We went along the pipe for several minutes, then we pulled away the manhole cover and the sewer-cleaners pulled us out. We looked so bad that we did not even look like children.

People felt sorry for us and one lady bought us some gooseberries. I was very happy to see the sun, the flowers and people. I was very happy, but Pawel started crying and wanted to return to the sewer as he was not used to the light and was afraid of people.

Janusz Korczak

...it was the deportation of Janusz Korczak and the children in his care which made an enormous impression on the Ghetto and was a clear indication of the purpose and brutality of the resettlement program. Korczak was an unusual man. Not just an ordinary educator or writer, he had always been a symbol. Trained as a physician, he had devoted his entire life to children, and had been given the title "Father of Orphaned Children." He had replaced the humiliating name of **orphanage** with the more dignified "Child's Home."

It was Wednesday, August 5, 1942, when the Nazis came for the children in Korczak's charge. It was not clear whether Korczak told the children what they might expect or exactly where they were going, but his staff of teachers and nurses had the two hundred orphans ready for the Nazis when they raided the orphanage at 16 Sienna Street. The children had been bathed, given clean clothing, and provided with bread and water to take with them. The Nazis burst in, but the children, though frightened, did not cry out or run and hide. They clung to Korczak who stood between them and the Germans.

Bareheaded, he led the way, holding a child by each hand. Behind him were the rest of the two hundred children and a group of nurses clad in white aprons. They were surrounded by German and Ukrainian guards, and the Ghetto police. One could see how weak and undernourished the children were. But they marched to their deaths in exemplary order, without a single tear, in such a terrifying silence that it thundered with indictment and defiance.

When the **Judenrat** heard of what was happening in the orphanage, everyone there tried des-

Taken from: Alexander Donat. *The Holocaust Kingdom: A Memoir* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), pp. 70-71. Reprinted with permission of Holocaust Publication, Inc.

HANDOUT E-2.3 (cont.)

perately to telephone, to do something, but they tried only to save Janusz Korczak, not the two hundred children. Korczak was told of their efforts in his behalf, but refused aid; instead, he chose to go with the children to the Umschlagplatz.

Other orphanages besides Korczak's, some of them larger, were liquidated by the Nazis in the very same manner, and there were many other nurses and teachers who refused to leave their charges but heroically went with them to their deaths. Korczak became a model of heroism and humanity in the night of barbarism.

Long before the time of murder, Korczak had written, "There is no greater mishap than to be born a man." He died, as he had lived, simply and with dignity. "Oh, how difficult is life, how easy death!" he wrote in his Ghetto diary, and in his death he became a monument to the 100,000 murdered Jewish children of Warsaw.

CHILDREN OF THE HOLOCAUST – CHILDREN'S ART

Aaron Hirt-Manheimer

After the end of World War II, it was discovered that the dreaded **Judenzug**, 'the Jew train,' had appeared frequently in Jewish children's art. A particularly chilling representation of the train is in the drawing of an unknown Warsaw Ghetto child who probably lived in the vicinity of the **umschlagplatz**, the collection center for deportation (Fig. 1). Here, a passenger train, observed from a high vantage point, runs across the entire plane. A Nazi soldier standing near his sentry

box aims an oversized pistol at the passing train. This ghetto drawing aptly depicts the Jewish predicament of complete isolation in the face of an overwhelming and deadly enemy.

Maurice Nemerachy, a ten-year-old Jewish boy who survived the war by hiding in the French countryside near Paris, created two memorable scenes when he learned that his friends were taken away. In the first scene, the child shows the victims being picked up for "resettlement" (see Fig 2). The deportees, carrying their allotted bundles, are chased into a truck marked with a swastika. In the background looms the deportation train. In the second scene (Fig. 3), the victims, presumably unloaded from the truck are herded into the train by brutal guards.

Yehuda Bacon, a child who survived Auschwitz, left an interesting representation of his arrival at the camp (Fig. 4). In his skillfully composed drawing, a close-knit column of prisoners is escorted by armed guards along a high barbed wire fence. The scene is outlined against an imaginative background in which the locomotive of the train is overshadowed by large trees and a gigantic sun. It seems that the child's imagination soared into the realm of fantasy, away from the sad reality. Today Yehuda Bacon, is a professor of art at Bezalel Academy, Jerusalem.

Taken from: Aron Hirt-Manheimer. *Keeping Posted. Children of the Holocaust*. Vol. XXV. Ed. 2. 1979. Pictures on p. 17. Reprinted by permission of Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

CHILDREN OF THE HOLOCAUST – CHILDREN'S ART

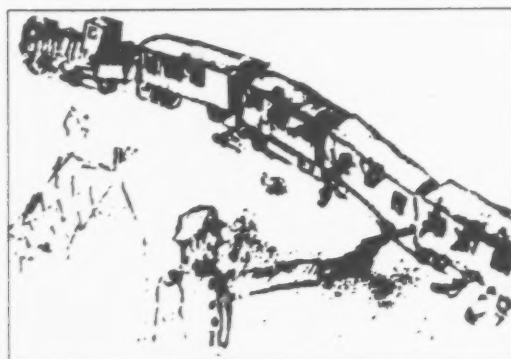


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

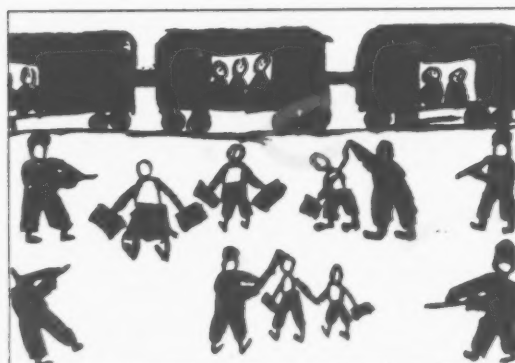


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

CHILDREN OF THE HOLOCAUST:
POLAND AND EASTERN EUROPE

HANDOUT E-2.4



*Declaration issued
Aug 30, 43 by U.S. and U.K.
with this
subject*

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

near the Polish Government
LONDON, August 10, 1943.

No. 369.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1943 AUG 18 PM 12 42

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

Subject: Attaching copies of confidential
Aide-Memoire handed me by Polish
Foreign Minister Romer containing
a very recent report on the
ruthless measures of extermination
presently being applied by the
Germans against the Poles.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to forward the attached copies of
a confidential Aide-Memoire handed me by Polish Foreign
Minister Romer, containing a very recent report upon
the ruthless measures of extermination presently being
applied by the Germans against the Poles.

In handing me this Aide-Memoire, Minister Romer
drew my attention to certain suggestions as to measures
to prevent further murders, namely (a) widespread radio
broadcasting to Germany and the occupied countries of the
character and extent and purpose of the mass murders
committed against the Polish people; (b) the issue of
an official statement by our Government - and if
possible jointly with the British Government - embodying
certain arguments and the essence of the proposed
broadcast action; (c) an examination of measures for
immediate reprisals.

Minister Romer furthermore said that notwithstanding
certain objections on the part of the British Government
to the Polish Government's suggestion, when the Polish
Government had discussed the problem of reprisals in
connection with the extermination of the Jewish population
the Polish Government felt that the present grave
situation in Poland, and the danger of its becoming
worse, might oblige the Polish Government to suggest to
our and the British Government the need for renewed
consideration by the three Governments of the principle
of reprisals as such, and in event this were positively

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Taken from: National Archives of the United States, Document File No. 740.0016 E.W. 1939/1052.
August 10, 1943.

375

-2-

settled, of their character and scope.

Respectfully yours,

A.J. Drexel Biddle, Jr.
A.J. Drexel Biddle, Jr. *r*

AJDBJr:GMT

Original and hectograph.

Enclosures:

1/ as stated.

Hecto sent to DSA

*some reduction
as p39*

Appendix to the Aide Memoire of
August 5th, 1943

Some telegraphic dispatches from Poland
received by the Polish Government in London

27th December, 1942.

"Deportations in the Lublin district are on a large scale and are aimed at the complete extermination of the Poles. The first instances of the separation of children from their parents have been reported."

7th January, 1943.

"German terrorism is being carried out on an enormous scale in the Lublin province. Entire villages are being deported and the inhabitants are not allowed to take their possessions with them. All those capable of work are being sent to the Reich while the unfit are left in concentration camps which is equivalent to death sentence. The children are torn away from their parents and sent to an unknown destination, others distributed among the villages of neighbouring districts. In Zamosc itself 12,000 farms have been evacuated. The vacated villages are then populated by "Volksdeutsche" from Bessarabia. All fit for work try to escape to the forests – the situation is tragic. Similar measures are being taken by the Germans in the Sokolow district."

24th January, 1943.

"It has been ascertained that after selection some of the children from the Zamosc district are being sent to the Reich. Such transports have left Zamosc, Chelm, Garwolin, and Cracow. The remainder are being directed from temporary

camps into neighbouring districts and then distributed among the villages. One transport arrived in Warsaw on the 9th inst. The children are in a terrible condition. The reaction of the Polish community in Warsaw was so violent that the German authorities were forced to issue repeated denials of this fact and warned the people that the spreading of rumours would be punishable by imprisonment. In Radom notices were posted up announcing that the entire population, excepting people employed in German industry, was to be deported."

17th July, 1943.

"At present the Germans are carrying out large scale measures aimed at the extermination of the peasants in the entire Lublin district. Railway and telephone communications with that district have been cut. This is taking place in the districts of Bilgoraj, Janow, Tomaszow, Hrubieszow, Krasnystaw, Zamosc, Lubartow and Pulawy, – some of these districts, such as Bilgoraj – have been completely cleared of its population. Only cattle are left wandering about the fields. A large proportion of people is killed on the spot. Infants are murdered simply by a kick with the boot, others are segregated – children up to 13 years of age, women and men over 50 being taken to be annihilated elsewhere.

It has been ascertained that on July 2nd and 5th, two transports made of women, children and old men, consisting of 30 wagons each, have been liquidated in gas cells. Men between 14 and 50 are taken away to an unknown destination. Some hundred thousand people are wandering about the forests which are under constant fire from artillery and from the air. Recently young Poles imprisoned in the Majdanek camp have been invited to join the "Polish Legion" which is being formed by the Germans in Lublin."

• • •

Report/not dated/L. 729/43.

The Fate of the Children from Zamosc

"Transports of children torn away from their parents are being directed mainly to the Garwolin district. So far 30 truck loads have arrived.

The children are being distributed mainly in Zelechow, Sobolew, Silawa and a number of other villages (Sobilenie – Jezioro). A transport consisting of 7 truck loads of children arrived at Chelm. Each truck is guarded by two Gestapo men, who prevent anyone from approaching the children. This transport was later directed to Wlodawa. It is feared that it may have been sent to the famous death camp of Sobibor, which lies on that railway line.

On January the 10th a transport consisting of 8 girls and 6 boys between the ages of 10 months and 13 years reached Warsaw. The children came from Zamosc /a suburb of Majdan/ and from local villages such as Lipsko, Sitaniec and Zdanow. The children relate that after a week at the camp at Zamosc they were taken away from their parents and sent to Sobolew by train, thence by road to Stoczek, where they were put up at the local Institute. After spending several days at Stoczek they were taken by car to Warsaw where they were handed over to the local first aid post. The children were in a terrible state. They are suffering from frostbite, are covered with lice and are exhausted. They all stated that their elder brothers and sisters, in fact all children over the age of 13, were sent direct to forced labour in the Reich.

• • •

HANDOUT E-2.4 (cont.)

The Fate of the Children from the Zamosc District:

In March large transports of children arrived in Pomerania. The children were between the ages of four and ten. At the railway stations in Bydgoszcz, Chojnice, Tczew and Gdynia the German sold some of the children to Poles at 40 Reichsmark per child, while others were sent to a special camp at Garczyn near Kosciierzyna, whence a number were distributed among local German settlers from Bessarabia, who immediately passed them on to Polish families on receipt of payment. Even now there are some four hundred children at the Garczyn camp. In connection with this child-market there were disturbances and arrests in Garczyn, as great numbers of Poles came from all over Pomerania to buy the children from the Germans. Together with Poles from other districts they do all they can to save the children from destruction and germanisation – by buying them from the Germans.

The Zamosc Crime Continues:

During the past week some 1,200 old men and children have arrived at Kaluszyn and Mrozow / the Minsk Mazowiecki district/ from the Lublin and Hrubieszow areas. There are the Poles deported in January and February. Seventy per cent of this transport consisted of infants and children up to 13 years of age /those over 13 are being sent to forced labour in the Reich/. There is great mortality among the children owing to the terrible living conditions in the Zamosc camp. The older people are in a very bad state due to nervous exhaustion.

It has been discovered that one such transport passed through Lodz. Another stopped at Kutno where the population bought a number of the

children from the Germans. The attitude of the Polish communities throughout the country towards the child-transports is exemplary.

• • •

HANDOUT E-2.5

"KILL ME"

The event described in this story took place in a village near Lublin, where the author of the account was in hiding...

One afternoon I was sitting on a wall by the 'blue' police station talking with one of the policemen, a pleasant elderly man, when a chit of a boy, not more than seven, walked up to us. He stopped in front of the policeman and said in an almost arrogant manner: "I've come to report." I looked into the eyes of this child and knew everything. But the policeman was not so perceptive...

"What do you want?" he asked.

"I've come to the police," repeated the boy and added after a while: "that you kill me."

I did not look at the boy or the policeman. I was watching the tops of the trees by the roadside... It was a fine day. There was peace all around us with no trace of the war. The road was completely empty, all people busily attending to their everyday tasks. Children were either doing their school exercises at home or playing somewhere. And here was this boy, God knows where from. The policeman asked him where he had come from. "From Lecza..." The policeman inquired about the boy's parents, brothers and sisters, relatives.

Taken from: Wladislaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin. *Righteous Among Nations* (London: Earls Court Publications, 1969). Used by permission of Wladislaw Bartoszewski.

¹ Polish auxiliary police.

"The Germans have killed them...mummy was killed by a gendarme in Piaski. He didn't want to kill me, he laughed and said that he would do it another time. So I went to the Polish police, but the man didn't want to shoot me, he said he didn't shoot chits of a boy...perhaps you?..."

The policeman coughed with embarrassment: "Hm...here, too, we don't shoot snots either," he said finally. He looked around, then glanced at me and read from my eyes that he could trust me.

"You'll go with me," he said in a lowered voice, not looking at the boy.

"Will you shoot me?" the boy asked with hope in his voice.

"No...be quiet...You must live, become a grown-up man...Come on."

Then he turned to me as if he wanted to ask me not to tell anybody. "You needn't worry!"

I sat for a long while on that wall and watched the slightly comic figure of the old policeman in a navy blue topcoat and the child trotting at his side, as if unwillingly. The goodness of that man was no accident – it was deep inside him, just like the vileness of the overwhelming majority of his fellows. – I know that he took that poor child under his wing and cared for him without recompense.

NON-JEWISH VICTIMS OF NAZI RULE*

In all occupied lands, the Nazis carried out large-scale reprisals against completely innocent and unarmed civilians, whenever a single German soldier was killed by partisans, or even when German property was attacked. In mass-murder actions against non-Jews, they also massacred 2 million unarmed Soviet prisoners-of-war, 1 million Soviet civilians, more than 1 million Polish civilians, and 1½ million Yugoslav civilians. In May 1940, at two villages near Dunkirk, a total of 170 *disarmed* British prisoners-of-war were murdered in cold blood. In June 1944, at three villages near Caen, 70 *disarmed* Canadian prisoners-of-war were likewise murdered, by German S.S. troops.

Twenty-six of many thousands of Nazi reprisal and murder actions against unarmed non-Jews, with the approximate number murdered in each massacre.

Countries in each of which more than a million non-Jewish civilians died as a result of deliberate Nazi brutality.



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*Editor's Note: The exact number of civilian losses during World War II differ. For example, Polish sources indicate that more than 3 million Polish civilians were killed during World War II in 299 documented Nazi reprisal and murder actions.

Taken from: Martin Gilbert. Maps from *The Holocaust*. Copyright (c) 1978 by Martin Gilbert. Reprinted by permission of Hill and Wang, a division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc.

HANDOUT E-3.2

THE OTHER HOLOCAUST

Bohdan Wytwycky

Those who were condemned to the most desperate circle in the Nazi hell were undeniably the Jews. They were slated for total annihilation as a people, and Hitler in fact managed to kill an estimated 65 to 70 percent of all European Jewry, including virtually all of the German and East European Jews. The circle neighboring that of the Jews was reserved for the Gypsies, who also were designated for complete extinction. However, the Germans' mania for exterminating the Gypsies did not quite achieve the same pitch of madness as that directed toward the Jews. Also, the nomadic life-styles of the Gypsies made them more difficult to locate. Nevertheless, the Nazis managed to kill somewhere between a fourth and a third of all the Gypsies in Europe. And in those areas of Europe where the Nazis held complete direct control for an extended period of time, as in Germany, in various occupied Eastern European countries, and in some small countries such as Holland and Belgium, the Nazi elimination of Gypsies ranged between 70 percent and totality.

The next circle in the Nazi inferno was set aside for the Slavs; specifically, for the Poles, Ukrainians, Belorussians and Russians. In the Nazi scheme of things, the Slavs were an inferior breed of people whose alleged historical destiny

was to serve as slaves for the Germans in the new Aryan empire. Toward this end, the Nazis projected and made considerable progress in a plan to exterminate all the leading strata of the Slavic peoples. The Nazis set out to eliminate not only the leading intelligentsia but also the educated classes in general, the clergy, the aristocracy, the civic and political leadership and so on. Because the Polish, Ukrainian, Belorussian and Russian populations at large were considered to consist of inferior peoples, the Nazis exterminated or sent to concentration camps between 9 and 10 million of their people.

Still other circles in the Nazi underworld of mass death production and concentration camps were occupied by a wide variety of groups. In Auschwitz for example, over thirty different nationalities were represented. There were political prisoners of all stripes, including some 10,000 Spaniards who had fought against Franco in the Spanish Civil War and who had been residing in France when Hitler's invasion caught them there. Only about 500 survived the camps. Another circle was assigned to certain religious dissenters, among whom there were many Jehovah's Witnesses. The most privileged of prisoners included the Volksdeutsche who had somehow managed to run afoul of the Nazi regime, and the common German criminals. The Volksdeutsche were persons of at least partial German ancestry who had lived outside the boundaries of Germany or Austria prior to the outbreak of the war and who were considered by the Nazis to be vastly superior racially to the non-Germans among whom they lived.

• • •

What the various peoples, the Jews, Gypsies and Slavs, who suffered most under Nazi barba-

rism, had in common was that they were all victims of a caste system introduced by the Nazis on the basis of a pseudo-scientific theoretical foundation. According to Nazi mythology – which, to everyone's horror, the Nazis regarded as legitimate political theory grounded in "science" and history – destiny had ordained that the Germans be the dominant and preeminent "race" on earth on the basis of an alleged intellectual, cultural and biological superiority. The rest of the Europeans were also considered to be superior beings and – though of course not viewed as being on a par with the Germans – were ranked roughly on the basis of geography and purported historical affiliations. Thus, the northern Europeans were thought of somewhat more highly than the southern Europeans. However, the Jews, Gypsies and Slavs were assigned to the bottom three castes. The Jews, as a people of non-European and "alien blood," were considered by Hitler and the Nazis as human vermin of which the Nazis were going to cleanse Europe. The Gypsies, also dangerous racially because they too were non-Europeans and therefore of alien blood, were alleged to be part of European society's "asocial" element of which it similarly needed to be rid. The Slavs, also purported to be non-Europeans, were depicted by the Nazis as "subhumans" and were condemned to either extinction or enslavement.

Although there were, to be sure, differences in degree, circumstances and intent on the part of the Nazis in the suffering imposed upon Jews, Gypsies and Slavs, the effects of Nazi brutality have left an indelible mark on the collective memory of them all. For these "undesirables" were converted prematurely into skeletons: skeletons in the ovens; skeletons sharing collective graves in one or another ravine in eastern Europe; living skeletons liberated by the Allies from the concen-

Taken from: Bohdan Wytwycky. *The Other Holocaust*. 1980. pp. 17-18; 20. Reprinted by permission of *The Novak Report*, 425 – 13th Street, N.W., Suite 1012, Washington, DC 20004.

* Except when otherwise indicated, the term "Slav" will be used primarily to refer to the three Slavic peoples for whom the length, extent and character of Nazi occupation were most destructive: the Poles, the Ukrainians and Belorussians; but I also use the word, by extension, to cover Nazi barbarism in Czechoslovakia, Russia and the non-Slavic East European lands like the Baltic states.

HANDOUT E-3.2 (cont.)

tration camps. Memories populated with skeletons die slowly.

• • •

SOVIET PRISONERS OF WAR

Bohdan Wytwycky

Thus, Soviet POWs suffered under the same racism which resulted in the extermination of millions of civilians in the Slavic countries of Poland, Ukraine and Belorussia. According to Hitler, the war in the East was not a conventional war but rather a war of extermination. The classic attitude of respect soldiers should hold for one another was abandoned in the East. It was to be a war of annihilation.

Many of the Soviet POWs died from starvation. It might be possible to maintain that food shortages made their starvation neither avoidable nor intentional. However, Hermann Goering is reported to have made the following remarks about "Russian" (Soviet) POWs to the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano:

In the camp for Russian prisoners they have begun to eat each other. This year between twenty and thirty million persons will die of hunger in Russia. Perhaps it is well that it should be so, for certain nations must be decimated.

(Kamenetsky, 1961: p. 152).

Further light is shed in a report composed by the Nazi minister for eastern affairs, Alfred Rosenberg:

Taken from: Bohdan Wytwycky, *The Other Holocaust*, 1980, p. 72. Reprinted by permission of *The New York Report*, 425 - 13th Street, N.W., Suite 1012, Washington, DC 20004.

According to the available evidence the population within the Soviet Union was quite willing to help out the prisoners of war with food.

In most cases the commanders of the camps forbade the civilian population to supply prisoners with food and preferred to expose them to starvation.

Also during the marches to the camps the civilian population was not allowed to hand any food to prisoners.

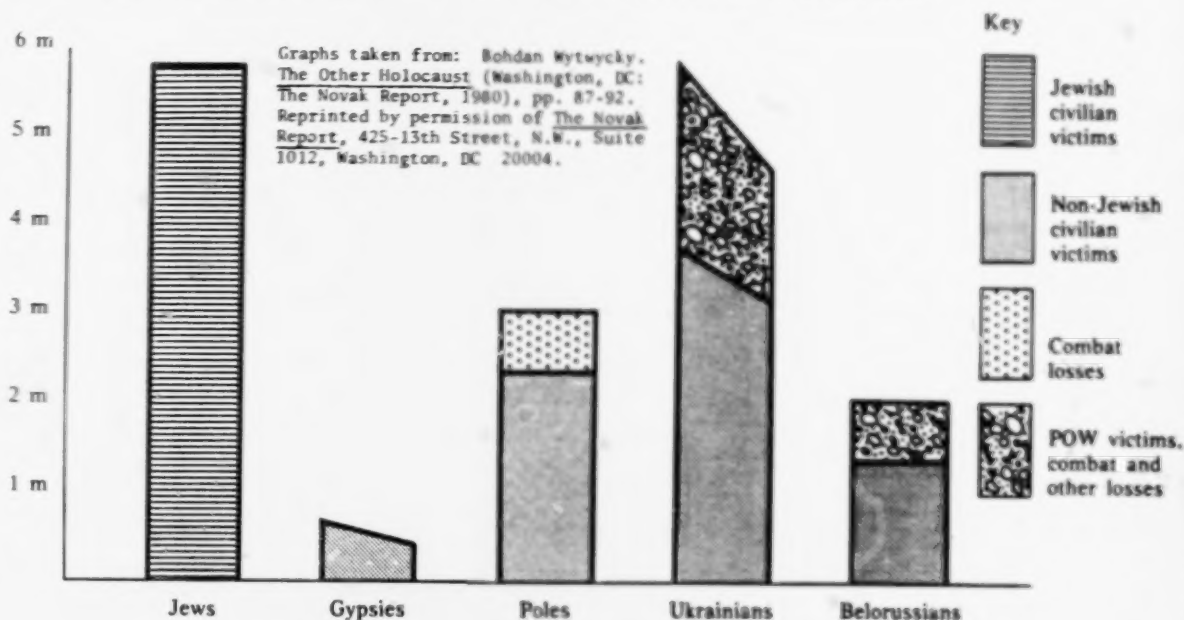
In many cases when prisoners could not continue marching either because of starvation or because of exhaustion, they were shot and their corpses were left behind in the sight of the dismayed population.

(Kamenetsky, 1961: p. 153)

The starvation of the Soviet POWs was not, then, unintentional.

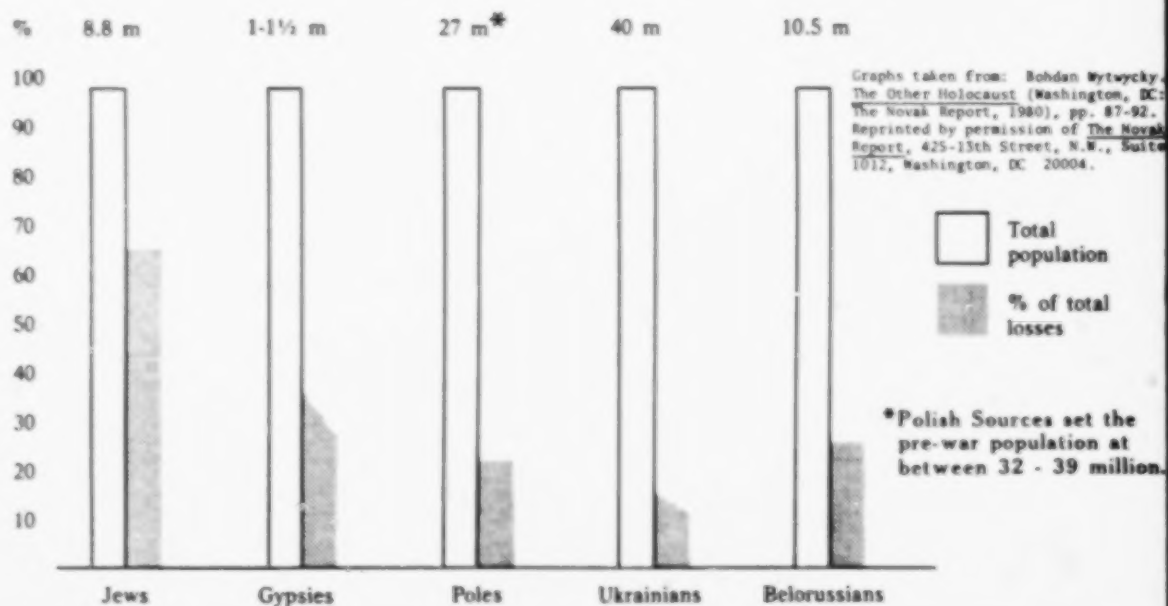
HANDOUT E-3.2 (cont.)

GRAPH B: Estimate of direct total losses by peoples — for purposes of this graph, Jews and Gypsies are listed separately from their native countries and are not included in the statistics of the latter.



HANDOUT E-3.2 (cont.)

GRAPH C: Estimate of losses in relation to estimate of total prewar populations as expressed in percentages — Jews and Gypsies listed both separately and are included in the losses of their individual native lands.



HANDOUT E-3.2 (cont.)

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL ESTIMATES

Graphs B and C represent a summary of the statistical estimates. There is much more consensus regarding some estimates than others. Where there is substantial uncertainty as to the numbers involved, as concerns the question of total Ukrainian losses and the questions of Gypsy losses and the size of the Gypsy prewar population, the range of uncertainty is incorporated into the graphs.

Whereas it is evident in graph B that many peoples suffered great losses in absolute numbers at the hands of the Nazis, graph C captures the extent of extraordinary devastation experienced by European Jewry during the holocaust. At the same time, when adding the statistics on all, for example, of the Poles or Ukrainians who suffered under the Nazis, i.e., the civilian victims, the POW victims and the slave laborers, it becomes obvious why the Slavs and Gypsies were scarred so deeply too.

The statistical estimates referred to here were derived from a variety of sources. Figures pertaining to the Gypsies were found in Kenrick and Puxon, Kenny and Yoors. Estimates on Polish victims and slave laborers were found in Madajczyk, who in turn cites the official report of the Polish Bureau of War Restitutions. Statistical estimates concerning Ukrainian losses were found in *Ukrains'ka RSR* and Prociuk; those regarding Ukrainian slave laborers were found in Dallin and Madajczyk.

Valuhin and Lubachko were the sources for statistical estimates of Belorussian losses and num-

Taken from: Bohdan Wytwycky. *The Other Holocaust*. (Washington, DC: The Novak Report, 1980), pp. 87-92. Reprinted by permission of the Novak Report, 425 - 13th Street, N.W., Suite 1012, Washington, DC 20004.

bers of slave laborers deported. All figures pertaining to Soviet POW losses were cited from Dallin. Lastly, all figures regarding Jewish losses, both totals and estimates by individual country, were cited from Dawidowicz.

• • •

The values used in making up the graphs are the following: (1) Gypsies – prewar population, 1-1¼ million; losses, .25 to .6 million; (2) Poles – prewar population (including Jews), 27 million; total losses, 6 million (of this 600,000 were combat casualties; of the total, 3 million were Jews and 3 million were Gentiles); slave laborers, 1.5 million; (3) Ukrainians – prewar total population, 40 million; total losses between 5.5 and 6.7 million (of this, .9 million were Jews and a minimum of 3 million were Ukrainian civilians); slave laborers, 2 million Ostarbeiter (those taken from the occupation zone Ukraine) and .4 million from the General Government (from western Ukraine); (4) Belorussians – total prewar population, 10.5 million; total losses, 2.25 million (including 245,000 Jews and 1.4 Belorussian civilians); slave laborers (Ostarbeiter) 380,000; (5) Jews – total prewar European population 8.8 million; losses 5.9 million; (6) Soviet POWs – total captured 5.16 to 5.75 million or more; 2.5 to 3 million killed.

HOLOCAUST VICTIMS

Stanislaus A. Blejwas

World War II began with the Nazi and Soviet invasions of Poland in September, 1939, and Poland endured nearly six years of continuous oc-

Taken from: Stanislaus A. Blejwas. "Holocaust Illiteracy" in *Perspectives* (Washington, DC, September-October, 1983), Vol. 13, No. 5. p. 260. Used by permission of Stanislaus A. Blejwas.

cupation. There was a Soviet occupation of prewar Eastern Poland from 1939 to 1941, and another, called by Communist historians a "liberation," in that in 1944-1945 the Red Army drove the Germans out of Poland. There were also nearly six years of uninterrupted Nazi occupation, a time of brutality, cruelty, and barbarism. Professor Jan T. Gross recently described this occupation:

It lasted longer than the occupation of any country during World War II. It was the most severe, as the result of the racial conceptions held by the Germans, who made an absolute distinction between Jews and Slavs, on the one hand, and the nations of Western Europe on the other. Such views allowed little room for either compromise or accommodation between occupier and occupied.

To illustrate this strong, but academic vocabulary, some 6,028,000 citizens of pre-war Poland perished during World War II. Depending upon whose figures are cited, this was anywhere between 17% to 22%, or approximately a fifth of the population of independent Poland. Only slightly more than 10%, 644,000 Polish civilians and military personnel, perished as a direct result of military operations, while 3,577,000 perished in extermination camps, or as a result of pacifications, executions, or ghetto obliterations. Another 1,286,000 perished in prison camps or in other places of confinement, while 521,000 died outside of camps and prisons as a result of wounds, injuries, and the conditions prevailing in occupied Poland.

And of the figure 6,028,000, approximately half were Polish Jews, citizens of independent Poland, while the other half were Polish Gentiles.

In addition to the loss of life, we must also note other consequences of the war. 590,000 individuals emerged from the war physically and/or

HANDOUT E-3.2 (cont.)

mentally disabled, while in 1945 there were 1,140,000 tubercular cases in Poland.

Of the 6,028,000 who perished, 1,800,000 were children under the age of 16, the majority of whom were Jewish. 30% of Poland's dead were her children, the future of any nation.

To these tragic figures must be added the estimated 200,000 Polish children who, because Nazi racial ideologists considered them suitable racial raw material, were kidnapped to Germany to be Germanized. In nearly every case, they never returned to their families or to Poland. Finally, mention must be made of the millions who were forcibly deported to Germany or to the Soviet Union as forced labor.

• • •

HANDOUT E-3.3

VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST

The crimes against the civilian population are sufficiently appalling, and yet the evidence shows that at any rate in the East, the mass murders and cruelties were not committed solely for the purpose of stamping out opposition or resistance to the German occupying forces. In Poland and the Soviet Union these crimes were part of a plan to get rid of whole native populations by expulsion and annihilation, in order that their territory could be used for colonization by Germans. Hitler had written in *Mein Kampf* on these lines, and the plan was clearly stated by Himmler in July 1942, when he wrote:

"It is not our task to germanize the East in the old sense, that is to teach the people there the German language and the German law, but to see to it that only people of purely Germanic blood live in the East."

In August 1942 the policy for the Eastern Territories as laid down by Bormann was summarized by a subordinate of Rosenberg as follows:

"The Slavs are to work for us. Insofar as we do not need them, they may die. Therefore, compulsory vaccination and German health services are superfluous. The fertility of the Slavs is undesirable."

It was Himmler again who stated in October:

"What happens to a Russian, a Czech, does not interest me in the slightest. What the nations can offer in the way of good blood of our type, we will take. If necessary, by kidnapping their children and raising them here with us.

Whether nations live in prosperity or starve to death interests me only insofar as we

need them as slaves for our culture, otherwise it is of no interest to me."

In Poland the intelligentsia had been marked down for extermination as early as September 1939, and in May 1940 the Defendant Frank wrote in his diary of "taking advantage of the focussing of world interest on the Western Front, by wholesale liquidation of thousands of Poles, first leading representatives of the Polish intelligentsia." Earlier, Frank had been directed to reduce the "entire Polish economy to an absolute minimum necessary for bare existence. The Poles shall be the slaves of the Greater German World Empire." In January 1940 he recorded in his diary that "cheap labor must be removed from the Government General by hundreds of thousands. This will hamper the native biological propagation." So successfully did the Germans carry out this policy in Poland that by the end of the war one third of the population had been killed, and the whole of the country devastated.

It was the same story in the occupied area of the Soviet Union. At the time of the launching of the German attack in June 1941 Rosenberg told his collaborators:

"The object of feeding the German people stands this year without a doubt at the top of the list of Germany's claims on the East, and there the southern territories and the northern Caucasus will have to serve as a balance for the feeding of the German people.... A very extensive evacuation will be necessary, without any doubt, and it is sure that the future will hold very hard years in store for the Russians."

Three or four weeks later Hitler discussed with Rosenberg, Goring, Keitel, and others his plan for the exploitation of the Soviet population and territory, which included among other things the evacuation of the inhabitants of the Crimea and its settlement by Germans.

A somewhat similar fate was planned for Czechoslovakia by the Defendant Von Neurath, in August 1940; the intelligentsia were to be "expelled," but the rest of the population was to be germanized rather than expelled or exterminated, since there was a shortage of Germans to replace them.

In the West the population of Alsace were the victims of a German "expulsion action." Between July and December 1940, 105,000 Alsatians were either deported from their homes or prevented from returning to them. A captured German report dated 7 August 1942 with regard to Alsace states that:

"The problem of race will be given first consideration, and this in such a manner that persons of racial value will be deported to Germany, proper, and racially inferior persons to France."

Taken from: International Military Tribunal. (Nuremberg, Germany, 1946), Volume XXII, pp. 480-481.

HANDOUT E-3.4

RECOLLECTIONS OF CONCENTRATION CAMP FLOSSENBURG"

by Prisoner #1623 Julian Noga

On December 6, 1939 along with hundreds of thousands of Poles who were being deported by the Third Reich as slave laborers, I was sent to the mountains of Austria to work as a farm hand. In November of 1940, I was arrested by the Gestapo and detained in the notorious prison near Mozartstrasse in Linz, on the Danube. After 11 days of interrogation and due to lack of evidence, I was released and sent to another farm, 4 kilometers from concentration camp Mathausen near Enns. On a clear day, the gray stone walls of that camp were visible and frequently, after 6 o'clock in the evening, detonations of exploding granite could be heard from the vicinities of the nearby stone quarries. Inquiring as to the internees within that camp, my Austrian employers replied: "convicts and criminals".

On September 19, 1941, I was re-arrested by the Gestapo and confined in the prison in Linz, where I had previously been held; this time, their interrogations continued for 11 months and I found myself in a hopeless situation. The Gestapo was brutal. Prisoners were beaten and maltreated; people were shot in the cellars beneath the Headquarters, including my close friend Jan Sacharski. Others, mainly Poles, were hanged in the nearby woods and their remains were sent to the crematoria in nearby Mathausen, a prison which contained people of varied national backgrounds, the highest percentage of which were Poles.

Taken from: Julian Noga. "Recollections of Concentration Camp Flossenbourg" (unpublished manuscript, undated). Used by permission of Julian Noga.

Early in August of 1942, I was informed that I was to be transported along with a group of 46 prisoners. We were handcuffed in pairs, brought to the railway station and placed into small divided compartments (3 persons in each) of a train which moved in the direction of Salzburg. Here we remained overnight in an old prison. (Interestingly, it is only here, until today, that any record exists of my destination to Flossenbourg Concentration Camp). The following day our train left for Munchen where we remained overnight in a local prison. That evening, the Gestapo brought in another prisoner, a German named Hans Bauer, who after having served a 10-year sentence for bank robbery was released, but immediately re-arrested at the gates of the prison. This tall, handsome, former student at the University of Munich (whose sole possession was a handkerchief) carried a bitter hatred for the Hitlerite system. I treated him to a package of cigarettes which I had managed to retain, along with a few other personal items; he was most grateful and from then on a close bond of friendship developed between us which remained until our liberation. I considered my relationship with him to be a case of "good fortune in my misfortune", although I was unaware, at that time, that this person would become my salvation; on three occasions he rescued me from almost certain death and in other instances served as my protector.

The following afternoon, we arrived at the last railway station in the small town of Floss. Awaiting us were black, windowless vans and groups of brutal SS-men, who greeted us with the flailing of whips. We were driven to the camp and unloaded in front of the lavatory, where we were also beaten, blows striking us wherever they fell. We were then pushed down a pair of steep stairs, bruising our knees and elbows, falling on top of each other into a heap.

Our heads and bodies were shaved and after a cold shower we were issued striped uniforms made of a thin fabric. After registration we received our camp numbers; I was assigned #1623, which I bear to this day. We were then led outdoors, barefoot, to the yard where we marched around the grounds for several hours; those who faltered were beaten with whips. After the evening roll call we were placed in a special Block for newcomers and for the next 14 days, as recruits, were forced to circle the camp grounds, several times daily, barefoot at a running march pace. We were then placed in columns of five to learn the camp muster and the 8 Camp Commandments: OBEDIENCE, DILIGENCE, CLEANLINESS, HONESTY, ORDER, SOBRIETY, SELF-SACRIFICE and LOVE OF THE FATHERLAND (Germany). We were also instructed in the rules and regulations of the camp, i.e., for the most minor infraction: 25 blows by stick; penal colony; or death by hanging. Although an inscription at the entrance to the camp read: "ARBEIT MACHT FREI" (Freedom Through Work), it was constantly impressed upon us that the only road to freedom was through the chimneys of the crematoria.

The camp was located in a valley surrounded on three sides by a pine forest and was enclosed by two, 4-meters high, thick wire mesh fences. The first fence was of barbed wire; the second of smooth wire, but electrified. Located approximately 1/2 kilometer east of the camp was a stone quarry, while on the west side, a 24-hour operable crematorium with two functioning ovens. Alongside of the crematorium stood a high wall, in front of which condemned prisoners were executed. Atop this wall was a special instrument called "guillotine", although most executions were carried out on portable gallows. The camp Commandant arrived at a verdict, decided on a sentence and the manner of execution. Fre-

HANDOUT E-3.4 (cont.)

quently after the evening roll call, we stood at attention while a condemned prisoner was brought out; the sentence was passed and the execution carried out within our view. At times when three prisoners were condemned together, one was hanged on the gallows, while the others were hung on a pole located in the center of the yard. Prisoners of various nationalities were hanged or shot; the largest groups were Russians and Poles. Also incarcerated were German military men, frequently high-ranking officers, brought directly from the front lines of battles; who were never actually accused of a specific offense; their crimes were simply described as "sabotage." Many Germans were liquidated in Flossenbürg after the unsuccessful attempt on the life of Adolf Hitler. These prisoners arrived during the night, were shot in the vicinity of the crematorium and their remains were immediately burned. In this type of an atmosphere, Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, Chief of the German Military Intelligence (ABWEHR) vanished without a trace, purportedly for his role in plotting the execution of Adolf Hitler. Also, a former Minister of the Third Reich (Schacht), a close personal friend of Hitler, decorated with the Order of the Golden Swastika, was interned here for 9 months. During the Nuremberg War Crimes trials, Schacht was proven innocent of the commission of any crime. Another famous prisoner was the former Chancellor of Austria, Kurt von Schuschnigg.

GRANITE QUARRIES:

After 14 days of rigorous "training" in the Block of newcomers and having become familiar with the various camp rules, we were placed at attention at 5 o'clock in the morning, following which we fell into columns of five, each containing 100 prisoners. Keeping pace, we were marched into

the quarries, where we were then divided into groups and assigned various tasks of hard labor. I was assigned to what was known as the "Kette Kommando"¹ – the applying of chains to huge blocks of blasted granite. These blocks were excavated to an open area where they were then quartered into smaller blocks and hauled to special factory-type buildings for cutting into smaller pieces. This type of work was very dangerous since the chains frequently slid or broke, causing blocks weighing several tons to roll into the areas below, resulting in accidental deaths.

Fortunately, after 3 weeks, I was transferred to another section (Halle No. 12) to learn the workings and molding of granite. My teacher was an elderly Czechoslovakian prisoner and under his tutelage I began to turn out pieces of granite molded into sign-posts and gutters. After several months I was assigned to the turning out of decorative and building bricks and eventually found myself working with a group of stonecutters.

All prisoners worked a 12-hour, six-day week; Sundays were devoted to laundering of uniforms, cleaning of footwear and housekeeping chores in and around our barracks. Each morning we were given 1/2 liter of black ersatz coffee made from barley; those who performed hard labor also received two thin slices of bread with a pat of margarine. Lunch consisted of 1 liter of potato or turnip soup, or cabbage with beet leaves added. The evening meal consisted of 1/2 liter black coffee and 30 dkg. of dark bread with a small piece of margarine or pate. Considering the type of diet and the hard labor assigned to us, it was difficult to survive; within 6 months the strongest of prisoners were dying – others, losing faith, committed suicide.

Soon after our arrival in Flossenbürg concentration camp, Hans Bauer was assigned Foreman

¹ Kommando – prisoner working parties

in the quarries and later on was promoted to the highest function a prisoner could attain, that of Block Chief (Lagerälteste No. 1). At his intervention, I was assigned the function of sweeper in the washroom of my Block #9; this duty was performed mornings and evenings, in addition to my normal work in the quarries. In this capacity, I frequently received leftover food and also due to this extra duty, it was not required that I stand at attention, except prior to marching to work. This was of great significance, since during heavy rains and/or winter freezes, I was protected.

Our greatest enemies were the Capos², who were mostly German criminals, sadists without human feelings or scruples. With pleasure, specifically in full view of the SS-men, they beat and murdered prisoners. The number of inmates was greater than 2000 prisoners in 1942. The daily mortality rate was approximately 70 persons. With each new week, new transports of prisoners from various countries arrived, specifically Poles, Russians, Jews and Ukrainians. In the summer of 1944 the camp was stricken with an epidemic of typhus and within two weeks, thousands expired; the largest number affected was within the groups of Russian soldiers who were brought directly from the front lines of battle. Those who survived were grossly maltreated to the extent that their food portions were 50% less than that of other prisoners and in addition, were assigned the most strenuous tasks of hard labor. Their Capo was a screaming, brutal Russian, nicknamed "Ivan The Terrible".

EMOTIONAL REACTIONS: It is difficult to analyze the frame of mind the prisoners were in, under such dreadful conditions. Much depends on

² Capo - The expression came from the Italian, meaning "chief" or "head." It was used by Italian workmen building roads in southern Germany and caught on first in Dachau and from there spread to other German concentration camps.

HANDOUT E-3.4 (cont.)

an individual and to what extent he is able to acclimate himself to certain circumstances. Some prisoners made friends, which was very important. Others took pride in their work or in the exhibition of their skills as craftsmen, since in many cases it aided in their survival. Special consideration was given to musicians, singers, actors, artists and sportsmen. And finally, there were those who doubted the future; they became mentally depressed, a dangerous symptom, since they eventually became reduced to a state, known in camp language as "Muzelman". Having finally succumbed to both physical and mental breakdown, they committed suicide; others died of hunger and/or exposure, or were exterminated by various methods.

On several occasions I found myself face-to-face with death. During the first week of April 1942, the Holy Week prior to Easter, I had planned to escape with two friends by sawing through a gate underneath Gestapo headquarters. Unfortunately, we were betrayed by two of our fellow inmates. We were confined for one week in a dark windowless cell; four bare walls, a cement floor and one blanket to cover three of us. Assuming that our days and hours were numbered, we attempted to maintain a cheerful attitude and retain our sense of humor, but the following week we were separated and each of us was individually brought before the Commissar. One of my friends (Wladyslaw Wygonik) received a stern lecture and shortly thereafter was sent to Mathausen Concentration Camp; I received a similar warning and two slaps on my face, while my other friend (Jan Jasinski) was led away to the cellar by two Gestapo officers where he was immediately put to death.

³ Muzelman - camp language for prisoners suffering from both physical and mental exhaustion.

A second incident occurred during the summer of 1944. A German Capo, without any provocation, struck me with a heavy stick with such a forceful blow that blood flowed freely from an open wound in my head. Overcome with infuriation, I seized the stick and struck him several times, injuring one of his ears. When I saw several Capos heading in my direction, I ran through a narrow passageway between the blacksmith shop and the storeroom.

The German blacksmith, a criminal, blocked my path; I knocked him to the ground but fell into the hands of a civilian truck driver who delivered a load of a special type of coal known as "coke", used in the blacksmith shop. Captured, with my hands held behind my back, I was led to a building which housed large cranes and equipment, where I was placed upon a large roll on which was wound heavy steel cable. The driver sat on my shoulders and neck, the Capos held my hands and legs, while I received 75 blows with a stick. I was then removed to the "first-aid station", as was the beaten foreman, who falsely testified that he struck me since he saw a knife in my hand - (this type of offense was punishable by a death sentence). The news that a Pole had beaten a German, specifically a foreman, circulated through the quarry, since this was the first incident of this type. Henceforth, my friend, Hans Bauer, appeared, after having been advised of the entire episode. He grabbed the foreman by the throat, pushed him against the wall in an attempt to choke him. The foreman promised not to report the incident and stated that he was willing to forgive and forget. A report of "accidental injury" was filed and the first-aid Orderly prescribed a month's rest for me. I spent 8 weeks recuperating in Block 22 under the solicitous care of the Block Chief, a Pole.

Shortly thereafter, in the autumn of 1944, I was sentenced to a penal colony which, in essence,

was comparable to the commission of suicide. Although the usual sentence was 3 months, it was difficult to survive for even 3 days. We were isolated from the other prisoners; received half-rations of food and were forced to carry heavy iron trays of sand, transferring it from one pile to another; this had to be performed at a running pace and those who faltered were beaten with whips. After one week I was released through the intervention of my friend, Hans Bauer. Once again, and for the fourth time since the beginning of my confinement, my life was spared - Hans Bauer rescued me from a transport on the way to my execution. It was in 1943 that I was placed on a transport, as a disciplinary measure, bound for Auschwitz. Along with a group of prisoners, I was tattooed on my left forearm with my prison number 1623, but minutes before the transport drove away, I was pulled off by the Block Chief, who gave me no explanation for this last-minute change.

BEFORE THE LIBERATION: In April 1945, the American Third Army, under the leadership of Gen. George S. Patton, was drawing near. For a few weeks discipline was softened, much of our work was halted and there was lack of food. Mornings we received 1/2 liter of black unsweetened coffee; for dinner, a liter of watery soup, usually made from spinach, and our evening meal consisted of 15 dkg. of bread. Chaos reigned. Some prisoners wandered about the yard, while others sat in the sun. The mortality rate increased - bodies and skeletons were visible everywhere. In the vicinity of the crematoria the dead were stacked between layers of wood, which were set afire. An unpleasant odor permeated the camp. Our documents, records and civilian clothing were burned. On the other side of the fence, SS-men were packing trucks. Uncer-

HANDOUT E-3.4 (cont.)

tainty and tension as to our fate, abounded. Would we be released, or liquidated?

On April 13th, at dawn, I awakened to shouts of joy. During the night, the SS-men had abandoned the camp; leaving us alone. It is extremely difficult for me to describe the emotions which engulfed all of us. The watch-towers were empty – the guards who manned the machine guns had fled. Some prisoners were weeping, others fell to their knees in prayer and thanksgiving for their survival. We kept our eyes on the Capos, with the thought in mind that as soon as the Americans arrived we would avenge their cruelty and murderous actions.

On this day, it appeared that the sun shone brighter than usual; before us unfolded a beautifully-wide free world. Hans Bauer gathered us together, informing us that we were practically free. However, he forbade anyone to leave the camp, since the nearby woods were full of remnants of the German army. Since the Americans were only a day or two away, he ordered white flags to be made from sheets and draped on the buildings as an indication that we were not enemies. That same day we observed two American planes flying low over the camp. That in itself created an atmosphere of hope and joy and for the first time we retired for the night full of anticipation and exuberance.

The following morning we were awakened by Hans Bauer, sadly disappointed by the news that during the night the SS-men had returned and once again manned the watch-towers within the camp and surrounding vicinities. In an atmosphere of uncertainty many assumptions prevailed; we thereby recognized the unfortunate fact that freedom is not easily attained. We remained in this state of dread and fear for another week and when a new transport of SS-men ar-

rived directly from the war-front, heavily armed, we assumed that we were to be exterminated. At this point, the Americans were nowhere in sight.

The situation gradually worsened with each passing day. A severe shortage of food existed; the camp was overcrowded since a transport arrived from Gross-Rosen concentration camp and, additionally, there were many new and unfamiliar faces amidst the SS-men, who beat and shot whomever they could. Piles of murdered victims were openly visible. The largest numbers of sacrifices were amongst Poles and Russians, whose bodies were stacked and burned on pyres. It appeared that this was the beginning of the liquidation of all remaining prisoners. I personally had lost contact with Hans Bauer and after a detailed search of all of the buildings, I was unable to locate him anywhere. Eventually, I discovered that the SS-men kept him locked in a cellar, due to his all-too frequent interventions and assistance on behalf of the prisoners.

EVACUATION: On April 20, 1945, the evacuation began at dawn. The first column, comprising approximately 2,000 prisoners left the camp at 6:00 a.m. Four of my long-time companions and I hid within the barracks and when our Block number was called, did not join the group. At noon, we received our lunch which consisted of a cooked wheat cereal covered with a sweet syrup. Shortly thereafter, we broke down the doors of the food storeroom, where we managed to obtain two loaves of black bread. Soon after, the SS-men encircled the storeroom and shot all of those who did not manage to escape; 50 prisoners lost their lives. At approximately 4:00 p.m. the eighth and last column of over 2,000 prisoners was formed and this time there was no opportunity for us to hide. We were forced to join in. The SS-men proceeded to search every corner of all of the barracks – those who were found hiding were shot

on the spot. I witnessed hundreds of exhausted and weakened prisoners lying in the yard; all were shot. (An interesting phenomenon is that those who were lying ill in the hospital were peacefully left behind.)

Arranged in groups of five, hundreds of us waited to begin the march. Gazing about the camp, I viewed a horrible sight. Bodies were strewn all about – the unpleasant stench of burned flesh was prevalent – all doors and windows were opened wide; an atmosphere of emptiness prevailed.

At approximately 5 o'clock in the afternoon we marched out of the camp to the main road. Walking through the small village of Flossenbürg, we saw a few small shops, a bakery, two churches. On either side of our column, every 20 feet, SS-men carrying carbines, were accompanied by trained dogs on leashes, as we were led to a road winding through a thick forest. At one moment we noticed two American planes, both of which circled around several times and disappeared behind the trees. Frequently, on both sides of the road we observed the remains of prisoners from the previous columns who had been executed. In our group, those who were unable to keep pace and began stumbling, were shot in the head, before our eyes. We continued to march all night and it was not until almost morning that we were able to rest for 3 hours.

Saturday, April 21: Many weakened prisoners who were unable to continue marching were executed. Up to this point we had not received any food or water and it was not until the following afternoon that we received 15 dkg. of black bread – nothing else. We then discovered that we were being evacuated to Dachau concentration camp.

Monday, April 23: The Last Chapter. We were led into the forest for a few hours of rest. My friend and I looked about for a clearing in the woods

HANDOUT E-3.4 (cont.)

where we could perhaps take a chance on an escape. However, since we were surrounded by SS-men with automatic rifles and dogs, there was no way that we could detach ourselves from the others. At about 7:00 a.m. we were awakened; while we stood in the column which had already been half-liquidated, we could hear shots coming from within the forest – an unforgettable massacre.

The last remains of the morning fog diminished; a beautiful and sunny day was dawning. Here and there blades of new grass were springing up. A thought entered my mind that the world could be so beautiful if a person could once more become a person... "free".

We marched in groups of five, clinging to each other – our feet were crying out in pain and we were utterly exhausted. Flying low overhead was a small American Army plane, from which were thrown a few satchels of food and cigarettes. Unfortunately, the SS-men forbade us to take advantage of these gifts and those few prisoners who dared to throw themselves upon the bags of food were shot. Only the SS-men filled their knapsacks and pockets. Yet, we presumed that within the next hour or two we would be in a position to deal with our SS-captors, since our dreams and desires were finally becoming a reality.

The hour was approaching 12:00 noon as we marched up a winding, craggy hill. The SS-guards continued to shoot anyone who fell and even those who merely faltered. Each shot was terrifying. We mourned the loss of each and every life, since freedom was so near. Behind us the mechanical roar of vehicles could be heard, as well as short bursts of machine-gun fire. I found myself in the next to last group of 100 in our column, when we were ordered to fall to the

ground. Close behind appeared a huge tank, followed by many more: the tanks of the American Third Army under the command of General George S. Patton. SS-men, hands raised in the air, surrendered. Several attempts to escape were halted by American machine-guns. Those taken prisoners were temporarily commanded to our disposition.

THUS ENDS A CHAPTER in one of the most brutal and bloody episodes in the history of the world, which should serve as a precautionary reminder to all future generations of freedom-loving people.

HANDOUT E-4.1

THE GYPSIES

Nora Levin

There was also a great difference between the Nazi treatment of Jews and Gypsies, although both have often been linked together. The Nazi attitude toward the Gypsies was ambivalent: at one extreme was a certain fascination with the supposed racial purity of Gypsies; at the other, was the view that Gypsies were subhuman and ought to be eliminated. In the case of the Jews, after June 1941, there were no alternatives. None were to stay alive. Moreover, Nazi action against Gypsies was confined to Germany and German-controlled territory, particularly Poland. No attempts were made to carry out anti-Gypsy programs for all of Europe. Romania and Hungary, for example, which contained large Gypsy populations, were not pressured to act against them.¹ The archracist fanatic Himmler had a confessed weakness for Gypsies, according to Rudolf Hoess, the commandant of Auschwitz: "The Reichsfuehrer S.S. wanted to insure that the two main Gypsy stocks (the Sinte and Lalleri Gypsies) be preserved," Hoess testified. "...In his view they were the direct descendants of the original Indo-Germanic race, and had preserved their ways and customs more or less pure and intact."² One cannot imagine Himmler indulging a fan-

tasy of this kind about a "pure" stock among Jews. As it was, at least 30,000 Gypsies from the Greater Reich were gassed at Auschwitz — a large and terrible figure.

The number of Gypsies in Europe in 1900 was estimated at about one million, but there are no statistics for the period of World War II. The Nazis could not elevate the Gypsy "menace" into a myth, but the arguments for their "solution" involved the obsessive German concern with "health" and "purity". The Gypsies were said to have a foul heredity, and were described as habitual criminals and parasites imperiling German racial purity. In short, they were "asocials" and deemed unworthy to live. In the invaded areas of the Soviet Union, the **Einsatzgruppen** were ordered to exterminate them at the same time and in the same way as the Jews, but no definitive totals are available. In the area assigned to **Einsatzgruppe D** — the Crimea — after the systematic killing of the Gypsies had begun, an order exempted all "nonmigratory" Gypsies from destruction if they could prove a two-year period of residence where they were found. In Serbia, Gypsies as well as Jews were shot as hostages by the German Army. In Croatia, Pavelic's Ustashis were the principal initiators of the Gypsy massacres. The official Yugoslavian Inquiry Commission set the number of victims in Yugoslavia at 28,000. Possibly as many as 100,000 Gypsies perished during the Hitler era in Europe — a very heavy loss. Yet, in the Nazi scheme for a New Order, it was the Jews and the Jews alone who were marked for total obliteration.

Taken from: Pp. 667-668 in *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry 1933-1945* by Nora Levin (Thomas Y. Crowell Co.). Copyright (c) 1968 by Nora Levin. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc. All rights reserved. This material may not be reproduced without the written permission of Harper & Row.

¹ Jacob Robinson, *And The Crooked Shall Be Made Straight* (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1965), pp. 97-98.

² Rudolf Hoess, Commandant of Auschwitz (Cleveland, World Publishing Company, n.d.), p. 137.

HANDOUT E-4.2

EUROPE'S GYPSIES

Donald Kenrick
Grattan Puxon

To combat the so-called **Gypsy menace**, however, legislation was copied from one country to another without regard for the consequences. As today, nobody asked where the Gypsies could legitimately find a living and attempt a normal family life. As we shall see, banishment or death were the only alternatives offered.

Distrust was further nurtured through the dissemination of stories purporting to illustrate not only the wrong-doing of Gypsies but the supposed guilt attached to being a Gypsy. This guilt-ridden label **being a Gypsy** has a continuity in legislation over many centuries and is contained today in the 1959 Highways Act in Britain and the special pass-books for Gypsy nomads in France and elsewhere.

It was said for example that Gypsies had been cursed by God because they had refused shelter in their tents to Joseph and Mary on their flight from Egypt. Some Gypsies even attempted to mitigate rather than deny this charge by claiming that they were on a long pilgrimage of penance for this crime – probably only adding credibility to this tale.

In a Spanish carol Gypsies steal Jesus' swaddling clothes:

"Into the porch at Bethlehem
have come the evil Gypsies.
From the newly born babe
they have robbed the coverings.

Taken from: Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon. *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* (New York: Basic Books, 1972), pp. 26-27. Reprinted by permission.

Rascally Gypsies with faces
like black olives.
The poor child they've left
of clothes bereft."³²

Another from Provence portrays the Three Wise Men as Gypsies:

"We are three Gypsies who tell good fortunes
We are three Gypsies who steal wherever we
may be.
Kind child, so sweet, cross our palms with silver
And each will tell you all that is to happen to
you."³³

Gypsies have been repeatedly associated with the crucifixion and forced to share with the Jews some of the blame for Christ's death. A Greek Easter carol tells the story:

"And by a Gypsy smith they passed,
a smith who nails was making.
'Thou dog, thou Gypsy dog' – said she,
'What is it thou art making?'
'They're going to crucify a man
And I the nails am making.
They only ordered three of me
but five I mean to make them.
The fifth the sharpest of the five,
within his heart shall enter'."³⁴

Variations of this legend – in which a Gypsy is haunted by a red-hot nail that never cools, and must ever wander – are current in Ireland.

• • •

"Even hardened prisoners were deeply moved when the SS in the fall of 1944 singled out and herded together Gypsy youngsters. The screaming, sobbing children, frantically trying to get to their fathers or protectors among the prisoners, were surrounded by a wall of carbines and machine pistols and taken away to be sent to Auschwitz for gassing."

Taken from: Eugene Kogen. *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (London: Secker and Warsburg, 1950).

"A Gypsy woman tried to escape and was caught. The others had to stand and watch as she was beaten and had dogs set on her. Then the German guards put her in the punishment block, and told the other prisoners that they could do what they liked with her as they had to stand there in the freezing cold because of her. Some of the prisoners in the punishment block beat her to death."

Taken from: Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon. *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* (New York: Basic Books, 1972). Testimony of Lena Steinbeck at Ravensbruck.

³² Journal of Gypsy Lore Society. (I) ip. 140 and (3) vii p. 48.

³³ Journal of Gypsy Lore Society. (I) ip. 136, 142-3.

³⁴ Journal of Gypsy Lore Society. (3) ii p. 175.



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HANDOUT E-5.1

INSTRUCTIONS BY HEYDRICH ON POLICY AND OPERATIONS CONCERNING JEWS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, SEPTEMBER 21, 1939

The Chief of the Security Police
Berlin, September 21, 1939

Schnellbrief

To Chiefs of all Einsatzgruppen of the
Security Police

Subject: Jewish Question in Occupied Territory

I refer to the conference held in Berlin today, and again point out that the **planned total measures** (i.e., the final aim – **Endziel**) are to be kept **strictly secret**.

Distinction must be made between:

1. the final aim (which will require extended periods of time) and
2. the stages leading to the fulfillment of this final aim (which will be carried out in short periods).

The planned measures require the most thorough preparation with regard to technical as well as economic aspects.

It is obvious that the tasks ahead cannot be laid down from here in full detail. The instructions and directives below must serve also for the purpose of urging chiefs of the **Einsatzgruppen** to give practical consideration (to the problems involved).

I

For the time being, the first prerequisite for the final aim is the concentration of the Jews from the countryside into the larger cities.

Taken from: International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, Germany. PS-3363.

This is to be carried out speedily.

In doing so, distinction must be made:

- 1) between the zones of Danzig and West Prussia, Poznan, Eastern Upper Silesia, and
- 2) the other occupied zones.

As far as possible, the areas referred to under 1) are to be cleared of Jews; at least the aim should be to establish only a few cities of concentration.

In the areas under 2), as few concentration centers as possible are to be set up, so as to facilitate subsequent measures. In this connection it should be borne in mind that only cities which are rail junctions, or are at least located on railroad lines, should be selected as concentration points.

On principle, Jewish communities of **less than 500 persons** are to be dissolved and transferred to the nearest concentration center.

This decree does not apply to the area of **Einsatzgruppe 1**, which is situated east of Cracow and is bounded roughly by **Polanice**, **Jaroslau**, the new line of demarcation, and the former Slovak-Polish border. Within this area only an approximate census of Jews is to be carried out. Furthermore, Councils of Jewish Elders (**Judische Altestenraete**), as outlined below, are to be set up.

II

Councils of Jewish Elders

- 1) In each Jewish community a Council of Jewish Elders is to be set up which, as far as possible, is to be composed of the remaining authoritative personalities and rabbis. The Council is to be composed of up to 24 male Jews (depending on the size of the Jewish community).

The Council is to be made **fully responsible**, in the literal sense of the word, for the exact and prompt implementation of directives already issued or to be issued in the future.

2) In case of sabotage of such instructions, the Councils are to be warned that the most severe measures will be taken.

3) The **Judenraete** (Jewish Councils) are to carry out an approximate census of the Jews of their areas, broken down if possible according to sex (and age groups): a) up to 16 years, b) from 16 to 20 years, and c) above; and also according to the principal occupations. The results are to be reported in the shortest possible time.

4) The Councils of Elders are to be informed of the date and time of the evacuation, the means available for evacuation, and, finally, the departure routes. They are then to be made personally responsible for the evacuation of the Jews from the countryside.

The reason to be given for the concentration of the Jews in the cities is that the Jews have taken a decisive part in sniper attacks and plundering.

5) The Councils of Elders in the concentration centers are to be made responsible for the appropriate housing of the Jews arriving from the countryside.

For reasons of general police security, the concentration of the Jews in the cities will probably call for regulations in these cities which will forbid their entry to certain quarters completely and that – but with due regard for economic requirements – they may, for instance, not leave the ghetto, nor leave their homes after a certain hour in the evening, etc.

6) The Councils of Elders are also to be made responsible for the suitable provisioning of the Jews during the transport to the cities.

There is no objection to the evacuated Jews taking with them their movable possessions in so far as that is technically possible.

7) Jews who fail to comply with the order to move into cities are to be given a short additional period of grace where there was sufficient reason for the delay. They are to be warned of the most

HANDOUT E-5.1 (cont.)

severe penalties if they fail to move by the later date set.

• • •

Signed Heydrich

ESTABLISHMENT OF JUDENRATE (JEWISH COUNCILS) IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, NOVEMBER 28, 1939

Regulation for the Establishment of the
Judenrate, November 28, 1939

1. In each community a body representing the Jews will be formed.

2. This representation of the Jews, known as the Judenrat, will consist of 12 Jews in communities with up to 10,000 inhabitants, and in communities with more than 10,000 inhabitants, of 24 Jews, drawn from the local resident population.

The Judenrat will be elected by the Jews of the community. If a member of the Judenrat leaves, a new member is to be elected immediately.

3. The Judenrat will elect a chairman and a deputy from among its members.

4.1) After these elections, which must be completed not later than December 31, 1939, the membership of the Judenrat is to be reported to the responsible sub-district Commander (*Kreishauptmann*), in urban districts to the City Commander (*Stadthauptmann*).

2) The sub-district Commander (City Commander) will decide whether the Judenrat

membership submitted to him should be approved. He may order changes in the membership.

5. It is the duty of the Judenrat through its chairman or his deputy to receive the orders of the German Administration. It is responsible for the conscientious carrying out of orders to their full extent. The directives it issues to carry out these German decrees must be obeyed by all Jews and Jewesses.

Cracow, November 28, 1939

The Governor General
for the Occupied Polish Territories
Frank

Taken from: *Official Gazette of the Government-General* (Cracow, 1939), pp. 72-3.

HANDOUT E-5.2

THE WARSAW DIARY OF ADAM CZERNIAKOW

September 6, 1939 – I could not sleep from midnight to 5 in the morning.

September 7, 1939 – Burdened with backpacks all kinds of people set out for the unknown.¹

September 8, 1939 – Restless night.

September 9, 1939, Saturday – Shellfire.

September 10, 1939 – I joined the Civil Guard. A rain of bombs. Went to the (Jewish) Community (office).

September 11, 1939 – During the night the orphanage at Jagiellonska Street was smashed to smithereens. Radio appeal to the population to make lint bandages. Could there be a shortage even of those? Parenthetically this brings to mind the following passage from *Don Quixote* about a soldier: "They will place a tasseled doctor's cap made of lint upon his head, to dress some wound from a bullet passing through his temples or leaving him maimed in arm or leg."

Horsemeat – Emir Rzewuski's famous steed. After guard duty Jas² leads a blind man home under fire.

September 16, 1939 – During lunch at "A la Fourchette," shell fragments tore into the building. After taking brief shelter in the underground movie theater under construction, an hour's trek home to cover the distance between Zlota and

Taken from: Raul Hilberg, Stanislaw Staron, and Josef Kermisz, Editors. Stanislaw Staron and the staff of Yad Vashem, Translators. *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 23; 74-77; 91; 99; 117; 206; 239; 366; 384-5. Copyright (c) 1979 by Raul Hilberg, Staron, & Kermisz from the book *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*. Reprinted with permission of Stein and Day Publishers.

¹ The Polish government was evacuating its offices from the capital and called upon able-bodied civilians to leave for the rear.

² Jas was Czerniakow's only son.

Wspolna Streets. Bombardment in the afternoon and all night long.

September 17, 1939 – Sunday – Early morning concentration of gunfire on the railroad station and vicinity. In the afternoon very heavy artillery fire. The Royal Castle and the Church of St. John damaged.

September 18, 1939 – A meeting of the Citizens Committee. Formation of sections.

Presidium – press and propaganda

Weiss and Miss Kahan – information

Milejkowski¹⁰ – health and medical assistance

– financial commission

– list of Jewish organizations

We are organizing a 100-bed hospital under the aegis of the Community at 35 Zielna Street. We will provide first aid and drugs. From 11 to 2 at night on guard duty at the gate of the apartment house.

September 21, 1939 – Morning at the office. Arranged for the translation of a proclamation to the Jews. Visited Colonel Eile¹¹ on rights and duties of Community administrators. A relatively quiet day. What will the night be like? In the morning a bomb hit police station XI where Jas and I are registered. A difficult night; our school¹² was hit.

September 23, 1939 – For quite a while a shortage of bread. There is no meat. They started selling horsemeat, praising its taste in the newspapers, even as stock for soup. Mayor Starzynski named me Chairman of the Jewish Community in Warsaw. A historic role in a besieged city. I will try to live up to it. – All night the city was bombed, perhaps more heavily than before.

¹⁰ Dr. Israel Milejkowski; was to be in charge of the ghetto's health services.

¹¹ Col. Henryk Eile, a Jew, held a position in the municipality.

¹² "Our school" was an elementary school under Mrs. Czerniakow's direction.

Damage to buildings and loss of life very extensive. Sparks from the gutted railroad station were falling on our school. The office (at 4 Sienkiewicza Street) was hit for a second time by shrapnel which landed on the fifth floor, demolishing two rooms. We are moving to the fourth floor.

September 24, 1939 – Gunfire all night. There is no gas, water, electricity, or bread. Horrifying day. Our apartment building was hit by four incendiary bombs and a shell. Jas was extinguishing them with sand. Later bombs from planes. Then fires on all sides. All windowpanes are out. In the evening the family moved to Wilcza Street. I am spending the night at Wspolna Street.

September 25, 1939 – The family returned from Wilcza Street together with the landlord. All night in the shelter. Warsaw under continuous terrifying bombardment.

September 26, 1939 – There is no news. Still no water. Bread utterly unobtainable. Night – heavy fire. In the morning, hysterics at home. Night – the shelter. Truskier's son-in-law, daughter, and granddaughter buried in debris.

September 27, 1939 – A night of intense gunfire. Large numbers of dead and wounded. In the middle of the day an easing-off. People gather around in the streets in an optimistic mood. Something has happened. Many rumors. Starzynski issued a proclamation about water, etc. Gunfire stopped in the afternoon. We are sleeping at home. A quiet night.

September 28, 1939¹³ – In the morning planes with a cross of as yet unknown origin. In my office salaries are paid out. In the streets people are carving out chunks of flesh from dead horses. Guard duty at the gate of the building 2-5 at night. Salaries paid in the office.

November 19, 1939 – From the early morning a meeting of the Council. All day long the collection of money for the exaction. In the afternoon, a

HANDOUT E-5.2 (cont.)

meeting with Red Cross delegate Junod. He promised some assistance for the Jews, drugs and food. In the evening the money collection continues. I managed to obtain about 260,000 zlotys in cash and withdrawals from new and old blocked accounts. Tomorrow more collecting. Then I must deliver the contribution to the SS. Baptisms!* Architecture.

November 20, 1939 – The census of the Jews in Warsaw now completed. Eight in the morning – the community – the exaction. At eleven I take 40,000 zlotys in cash and transfer deposits in the amount of 260,000 to the SS. Later at the Currency Control Office for a permit.

The "ghetto" will be marked with the sign **Achtung! Seuchengefahr. Eintritt verboten.** The military authorities will add signs placing the area off limits to the troops. Money collection in the Community continues. Ordered to take possession of the hospital etc. A landlady refuses to reward men who saved her building from a fire.

At 4 p.m. at the SS about the exaction. At 5 p.m. at the SS on the same errand. Then at the Currency Control Office at Freta Street about cashing checks.

In the meantime I have neglected my office where I earn my living. What am I going to live on? God only knows, especially since I do not want to take a penny from the Community. Meanwhile, my job at the Community costs me money spent on transportation and tips – a droskha costs 4-5 zlotys each time. When I go to bed at 9 in the evening I read. At 2 a.m. I begin to fret. And so on until 5 or 6 in the morning when I get up. Shoes.

¹³ Warsaw fell that day to the Germans.

¹⁴ A reference to attempts by Jews to escape from application of anti-Jewish measures through conversion.

December 13, 1939 – In the morning at the SS, where a regulation was read to me to the effect that the Poles and the Jews who had been deported to the **Generalgouvernement** from the Reich would be shot, if they returned to their former domiciles....

In the morning I was summoned to the office of the investigator (**Sittendelikt** – crime of moral turpitude). It turned out that we must increase the number of posts with the sign **Achtung, Seuchengefahr** (Attention! Danger of epidemics)....

December 14, 1939 – A joke about me, that whenever I go to the authorities I am seized for compulsory labor, became a reality a few days ago. Thanks to my papers (**Ausweis**), but not without difficulty, I was let go while the young Jews, packed tightly in the trucks and sticking out their heads like geese in a coop, looked on amazed.

February 14, 1940 – The Community offices in the morning. On the street they are seizing people for work. Rumors about the ghetto and expulsions. A Jew is helped by a Christian.

February 15, 1940 – The Community in the morning. **Obmann** (Chairman of the Jewish Council) from Sosnowiec. At 3 p.m. to the SS – the matter of passports. A fruitless search for the Director. In the afternoon working on the organizational structure of the JSS. My head is bursting from complaints. Tomorrow I am getting up at 6; at 8 I will be signing passports or release certificates from the Community for them (prospective emigrants).

February 16, 1940 – In the Community at 7 in the morning. A column of Community workers (thousands of them) with shovels along Marszalkowska Street. I visited a forge where we are producing shovels and handles. At 1 p.m. a meeting of the Health Commission. It was agreed to organize a soap collection, etc. The SS collects

from emigrating Jews certain sums of money for the Community. Today the Community received through Mr. Berman, Chief of the Budget and Finance Department, 5,000 zlotys from ten emigrants. I am gathering reports from the several departments of the Community organization.

October 12, 1940 – Cloudy. 54°F. Today is the Day of Atonement. Only a clerk on duty in the Community. I wanted to leave for the office rather late today, since my arrival in the Community building on the Day of Atonement would amount to a demonstration of atheism. And here was a letter summoning me to Makowski at Danilowiczowska Street for 10 a.m. A matter of 1,000 "workers".

At 10:30 a conference at Makowski's: Schoen, Braun, Drost, etc. Also, Czerniewski and an official from the municipality. At first an exclusively German conference, then with Czerniewski and his comrade, and finally I was invited. It was thereupon proclaimed (Schoen) that in the name of humanity and at the behest of the Governor, the Governor General, and in conformity with higher authority, a ghetto is to be established. I was given a map of the German quarter (**sic**) and separately a map of the ghetto. It turns out that the ghetto border streets have been allocated to the Poles.

I was ordered to form a Jewish militia of 1,000 men. Until October 31 the resettlement will be voluntary, after that compulsory. All furniture must remain where it is. When I raised objections with respect to the financial problem, I was told that the militia could be (unpaid) volunteers and again that there were enough material resources within the ghetto itself.

At this very moment (3 p.m.) municipal workers were busy with blow torches, cutting some iron railings around the gardens at Barbara Street.

HANDOUT E-5.2 (cont.)

May 21, 1941 – In the morning at the Community. A call from Rozen. They visited Lekno and one other camp. The conditions are horrendous. Nobody can stand it for a month. The firms which supply the food are stealing it from the workers. The beatings of the workers is to cease. The efficiency of the work, admittedly hard, is low.

At 9:30 Wielikowski and I reported to Auerswald. We were (then) received by Governor Fischer. At the very beginning he contended that starving the Jews was not his objective. There is a possibility that the food rations would be increased and that there will be work or orders for the workers. He pointed out that the corpses lying in the streets create a very bad impression. Indeed, the corpses do lie unattended (with their faces covered by newspaper and brick). The corpses, he said, must be cleared away quickly. He added that it is possible that we may receive additional food contingents for the police and the Community staff.

The Governor turned out to be a relatively young man, dressed in civilian clothes, but wearing high boots with spurs. His manner was polite. He completed his remarks by saying that he expects compliance, or else....

June 13, 1942 – In the morning with Brandt and Mende. I raised the problem of deaths in the Quarter and informed them that some unknown civilians are shooting not only at smugglers but also at innocent passersby. I requested that they get in touch with Auerswald in order to put an end to the situation.

More Gypsies were crammed into the detention facility. The number of prisoners now exceeds 1,800. People faint; every day deaths occur because of overcrowding. I discussed this problem with Dr. Grassler who advised me to talk it

over with Auerswald. Unfortunately, he was not in.

Mende took me to *Kommissar* Nikolaus, who proposed to the Council an exchange of Jews for Germans in the United States and South America, with the exception of Chile and Argentina. Palestine also enters into the picture. The wives of husbands who are in Palestine will be allowed to join their spouses there.*

They ordered me to issue to the Gypsies arm-bands with a letter Z.**

June 14, 1942 – Cloudy. Today is Sunday. I am not sure whether the orchestra could perform in the playground. It turned out that it did play in spite of a light rain. I issued instructions for the children from a precinct detention room, organized by the Order Service, to be brought to the playground. They are living skeletons from the ranks of the street beggars. Some of them came to my office. They talked with me like grown-ups – those eight-year-old citizens. I am ashamed to admit it, but I wept as I have not wept for a long time. I gave a chocolate bar to each of them. They all received soup as well. Damned by those of us who have enough to eat and drink and forget about these children.

July 22, 1940 (sic) – In the morning at 7:30 at the Community. The borders of the Small Ghetto surrounded by a special unit in addition to the regular one.

Sturmabfuhrer Hofle and associates came at 10 o'clock. We disconnected the telephone. Children were moved from the playground opposite the Community building.

We were told that all the Jews irrespective of sex and age, with certain exceptions, will be de-

* Palestinian nationals and their spouses were considered enemy aliens, eligible for exchange. Germans in Palestine, then a British mandate, were subject to internment.

** "Z": an abbreviation for *Zigeuner*, German word for "Gypsy."

ported to the East. By 4 p.m. today a contingent of 6,000 people must be provided. And this (at the minimum) will be the daily quota.

We were ordered to vacate a building at 103 Zelazna Street for the German personnel who will be carrying out the deportation. The furniture was kept where it was. As the Council staff with their wives and children are exempted from deportation, I asked that the JSS personnel, craftsmen, and garbage collectors, etc. also be excluded. This was granted.

• • •

Sturmabfuhrer Hofle (*Beauftragter* – plenipotentiary – in charge of deportation) asked me into his office and informed me that for the time being my wife was free, but if the deportation were impeded in any way, she would be the first one to be shot as a hostage.

July 23, 1942 – In the morning at the Community. Worthoff from the deportation staff came and we discussed several problems. He exempted the vocational school students from deportation. The husbands of working women as well. He told me to take up the matter of orphans with Hofle. The same with reference to craftsmen. When I asked for the number of days per week in which the operation would be carried on, the answer was 7 days a week.

Throughout the town a great rush to start new workshops. A sewing machine can save a life.

It is 3 o'clock. So far 4,000 are ready to go. The orders are that there must be 9,000 by 4 o'clock. Some officials came to the post office and issued instructions that all incoming letters and parcels be diverted to the Pawiak (prison).

Editor's Note: Adam Czerniakow made his last diary entry on July 23, 1942. On that day he learned that all residents of the ghetto, including

HANDOUT E-5.2 (cont.)

children, were scheduled for deportation to their deaths. During the entire time he had served as head of the Jewish Council, Czerniakow had kept ready a potassium cyanide tablet which he intended to use, should he ever receive an order which went against his conscience. Before swallowing the tablet he wrote two notes, one to the Jewish Council executive and the other to his wife. In the first he said that Worthoff had visited him that day and told him that the expulsion order applied to children as well. They could not expect him to hand over helpless children for destruction. He had therefore decided to put an end to his life. He asked them not to see this as an act of cowardice. "I am powerless, my heart trembles in sorrow and compassion. I can no longer bear all this. My act will show everyone the right thing to do."

HANDOUT E-6.1

LAST STAND IN WARSAW

Steve Lipman

April 19, 1943, the day before the start of Passover, the day before Adolf Hitler's 54th birthday, the day the Warsaw Ghetto uprising began, was a clear spring day. It had been seven months since the heavy deportations to Treblinka had ended. The Warsaw Ghetto was reduced to an area 1,000 by 300 yards. Its population was down to 60,000.

Itzhak Milchberg, who now owns a gift shop in Niagara Falls, Canada, was living in that spring of 1943 outside the Warsaw Ghetto under an "Aryan identity." He sneaked back into the ghetto to spend Passover with his uncle, his only remaining relative. At age 12, he was an orphan (his father had been shot before his eyes, his mother and grandmother and two sisters had been deported). He was also an experienced smuggler, who had carried food and weapons into the ghetto for three years. This time he brought a basket of eggs and potatoes under his arms.

Not finding his uncle at home, Itzhak went to an apartment of resistance fighters. When he arrived, they were painting a large white banner with red letters: "For Our and Your Freedom." He shared news from the outside and went to sleep on the floor.

At 2 a.m. German troops were deployed around the ghetto walls at 30-yard intervals. At 6 a.m. 2,000 soldiers, fortified by tanks and armored cars, entered the ghetto. Heinrich Himmler, leader of the SS — the elite Nazi terrorist corps — had been rebuffed by Jewish resistance in an attempt to liquidate the ghetto in January.

Taken from: Steve Lipman. "Last Stand in Warsaw" *Buffalo News Magazine* (July 24, 1983), pp. 14; 18-20. Used by permission of Steve Lipman.

Now he ordered the final assault to begin as a birthday present for the Fuehrer.

The leaders of the Jewish Fighting Organization formed by Zionists, Socialists and groups of various political leanings, were ready for the attacks. Twenty-two units were positioned around the ghetto. The fighters had two or three light machine guns, a few rifles, a few hundred revolvers and pistols, several hundred grenades and an undetermined number of homemade Molotov cocktails.

The civilian population was in underground bunkers.

As the German soldiers advanced, singing confidently, a 15-year-old girl hurled a homemade bomb into their midst from a balcony. Hundreds of Jews hiding on rooftops and behind windows showered the troops with bullets, grenades and Molotov cocktails. The soldiers withdrew.

"A lot of young people came running — we chased them out," says Milchberg, who spent that day carrying weapons to fighters.

The soldiers returned later that morning with a flamethrower, setting fire to buildings where Jews were hiding. The fighting continued until the soldiers left that day at 5 p.m.

The next morning Itzhak went looking for his uncle. The fighting had resumed. He wound his way through the honeycomb of sewers, connected attics and connected basements that Warsaw's Jews had devised for moving undetected between buildings. Dodging Nazi fire behind piles of rubble, he went to the basement of his uncle's apartment building. Looking for the false brick wall that concealed the bunker, he stumbled upon another group's hiding place. He found a trap door and quickly dived in.

The bunker held 60 people. It was lit by a single candle on a table in the center. Air came from sewer shafts. There was food in the bunker. Unlike some bunkers, this had no electricity, no ra-

dio, no water well and no tunnel to the outside.

"The building was shaking," Milchberg says. "People were crying."

After a while, when the crying ebbed, a man in his 40s wearing a cap on his head approached Itzhak. "He said to me, 'You'll perform the seder (the ritual Passover meal) with me.' He had some matzoh, I don't know how he got it. He had a shank bone. He had a green (vegetable) and a little plate," Milchberg recalls.

Itzhak wanted no part of a seder. "One woman started screaming: 'What do you need a seder for? God brought us out from Egypt, from slavery, to burn us here?'"

"By then we knew about the crematoria," Milchberg says. "We knew our families were being gassed. We knew about it. But we didn't want to believe it."

An argument over the seder broke out in the bunker. Finally the man with the cap pushed himself to the center of the crowded bunker, grabbed Itzhak and pushed the plate into his midsection. "Itzi," he said in Yiddish, called Itzhak by his nickname, "if you have to die, you'll die as a Jew. If God spares you, if you like it or not, you'll pass it on to your children." Holding the plate between them, Itzhak and the man started to recite quietly together in Hebrew, from memory.

"We were slaves unto Pharaoh in Egypt," they murmured, the words that Jewish parents have told their children for 3,000 years. Soon, most of the people were reciting. "Those same people, who minutes before were against it, had joined in. We did most of the prayers by heart," Milchberg says.

"We were sitting in the dark. We didn't know what time it was." In the middle of Hallel (the Psalms of praise recited on Jewish holidays) the Jews were frightened by a noise upstairs. They ended the seder, and the noise upstairs ceased.

HANDOUT E-6.1 (cont.)

Itzhak left the bunker the next morning, returning to the fighters' apartment. He spent the next three days as a "runner" for the fighters, ferrying food and weapons and messages. By then the Nazis had set fire to a large part of the ghetto; it was enveloped in smoke and the heat had turned the pavement into a sticky pulp of tar. The ghetto was being bombed from the air and the ground. The Jews who surrendered to the Germans were deported immediately.

On the sixth day of the uprising Itzhak went in search of his uncle again. Sneaking into a group of Jewish workers, he was herded by the Nazis to the **Umschlagplatz**, the railroad loading yard just outside the wall, where Jews were packed into cattlecars for the ride to Treblinka. "I wanted to get out of the ghetto," Milchberg says.

Pushing to the back of the crowd, he stayed at the platform overnight, until he spotted his uncle. They boarded the train together.

After traveling about 100 miles, the train stopped. The doors were opened. The Jews were chased off the train. They were at a switching depot near a large field, outside the town of Poniatow, waiting to be transferred to another train....

Itzhak ran to the field. He was free. "Not by any genius. It was God's hand, whatever you want to call it," he says.

After the trains pulled away — one of them carrying his uncle to Treblinka — and the policemen left, Itzhak walked to the railroad tracks. He headed back toward Warsaw, the only home he knew. Ukrainian police stopped him along the way. "Did you see any Jews?" they asked. Itzhak shrugged. "I acted stupid," he recalls. "They chased me off the tracks because it was against the law to walk on the tracks."

He walked for six hours. Reaching a train station outside a small village, he bought a ticket to Warsaw with a few coins still in his pocket.

In Warsaw, Itzhak made his way back to the Catholic shoemaker who had trained him as an apprentice before the uprising. The shoemaker took Itzhak back. He stayed with the shoemaker's family at night and walked each day to the outside walls of the ghetto.

"The fighting was going on continuously, day and night," Milchberg says. "The ghetto was burning. When the shelling was going on, you could hear it all over the city. The burning you could see for 50 miles. Everybody knew. The whole population knew about it."

The shoemaker's customers spoke with admiration about the Jewish fighters. "All of a sudden the Jews, in the Poles' eyes, became very heroic people. Jews knew how to fight Germans. The Jews were not going meekly to their destruction."

On May 6, 1943, German soldiers surrounded the bunker of the Jewish Fighting Organization. The civilians inside surrendered, but the fighters continued their battle. The Germans pumped poison gas into the bunker. More than 100 fighters died. The uprising was over.

Sporadic, isolated resistance — shots fired by Jews who managed to elude the Nazis — continued until August. The toll: Five thousand Jews died in the battle. Another 56,000 surrendered; of these, 7,000 were shot immediately, 7,000 were taken straight to Treblinka's gas chambers and the rest were dispersed to several concentration camps.

Total German casualties: fewer than 200, according to historians' best estimates. The ghetto was a heap of rubble and bricks, three stories high in places.

HANDOUT E-6.2

Editor's Introduction:

On February 16, 1943 Himmler gave the order to liquidate the remains of the Nazi-created Warsaw Ghetto. The remaining Jewish residents were to report for deportation to the extermination center at Treblinka. In April 1943, the 60,000 Jewish "survivors" of the Warsaw Ghetto rose up against the Nazis in armed revolt. The Nazi commander in charge of the liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto was Juergen Stroop. Stroop referred to his troop's effort to destroy the Ghetto and kill the remaining Jewish residents as the "grand operation." Stroop refers to the Jews and Polish Christians who aided the Jews as "bandits." Excerpts from Stroop's report to Himmler make up Handout E-6.2.

THE STROOP REPORT

Major General Juergen Stroop

After the first few days, it was clear that the Jews no longer considered voluntary resettlement but were determined to resist with all weapons and means at their disposal. So-called fighting groups had been formed under Polish-Bolshevik leadership. They were armed and paid any price for available weapons.

During the grand operation, Jews were caught who had already been transferred to Lublin or Treblinka, had escaped from there, and had returned to the Ghetto, equipped with arms and ammunition. Polish bandits continually found refuge in the Ghetto and remained there almost unmolested, since no forces were available to

penetrate his chaos. While it was possible at the beginning of the operation, it proved increasingly difficult to capture Jews and bandits in the half of the grand operation. Repeatedly, groups of 20 to 30 or more Jewish youths, to 25, accompanied by a corresponding number of females, unleashed new resistance. These fighting groups had orders to offer armed resistance to the last person and, if necessary, to commit suicide to escape capture. After ascending a sewer opening in the so-called Prosta Street, a fighting group (consisting of 30 to 35 bandits) in the evening of 19 April 1943, one bandit, who had been captured, was released. He was given a grenade and was ordered to throw it into the sewer. The bandits then fled into the street and were shot by our men. These bandits were in the sewer with a light machine gun. The last member of the band, who was an officer in the sewer, was assigned to replace the manhole cover. He was captured. The search for the truck was unfortunately without result.

During the armed resistance, females belonging to fighting groups were armed just like the men. Some of them were members of the Haganah movement. Not infrequently, these females carried pistols from both hands. Repeatedly, they concealed pistols or hand grenades (oval and grenades) in their underpants to use at the first minute against the men of the Waffen-SS, Police, or Wehrmacht.

The resistance offered by the Jews and bandits was broken only by the energetic and relentless day and night commitment of our assault units. On 19 April 1943, the Reichsfuehrer-SS issued his order, transmitted through the

Higher SS and Police Leader East in Cracow, to

into the swamping of the Warsaw Ghetto, with greatest severity and unrelenting tenacity. I therefore decided to embark on the total destruction of the Jewish quarter by burning down every residential block, including the housing blocks belonging to the armament enterprises. One enterprise after another was systematically evacuated and destroyed by fire. In almost every instance, the Jews then emerged from their hiding places and bunkers. It was not unusual for Jews to remain in the burning houses until the heat and their fear of being cremated forced them to jump from the upper floors. They did so only after having been shot and killed. The Jews who remained in the burning houses until the heat and their fear of being cremated forced them to jump from the upper floors. They did so only after having been shot and killed. The Jews who remained in the burning houses until the heat and their fear of being cremated forced them to jump from the upper floors. They did so only after having been shot and killed.

Taken from: Sybil Milton, translator. *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter of Warsaw is No More!* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979). Unpaginated. Used by permission of Pantheon Books, a Division of Random House, Inc.

HANDOUT E-6.2 (cont.)

Only the continuous and tireless commitment of all forces made it possible to apprehend and/or destroy 56,065 Jews. To this confirmed number must be added the Jews who lost their lives in explosions, fires, etc., whose number could not be ascertained.

During the grand operation, the Aryan population was informed through posters that it was strictly forbidden to enter the former Jewish quarter and that anyone caught within the former Jewish quarter without a valid pass would be shot. Simultaneously, these posters instructed the Aryan population that anyone who helped or hid Jews within the Aryan part of Warsaw would be shot. It was also stated that anyone who helped or hid Jews within the Aryan part of Warsaw would be shot.

The Polish Police was authorized to pay Polish policemen one-third of the cash belonging to any Jew they arrested within the Aryan part of Warsaw. This measure has already produced results.

• • •

The grand operation was terminated on 16 May 1943, with the dynamiting of the Warsaw Synagogue at 2015 hours.

Now there are no enterprises left in the former Jewish quarter. Everything of value, the raw materials, and machines have been transferred. The buildings and whatever else there was have been destroyed. The only exception is the so-called Dzielna Prison of the Security Police, which was exempted from destruction.

Since it must be assumed that even with the grand operation complete a few Jews are still living in the ruins of the former Jewish quarter, this area must be guarded and firmly sealed off from

the Aryan residential section for the immediate future. Police Battalion III/23 has been assigned

this duty. The Police Battalion has instructions to keep watch over the former Jewish quarter, especially to prevent anyone from entering the former Ghetto and to shoot immediately any unauthorized person found there. The Commander of the Police Battalion will continue to receive further direct orders from the SS and Police Leader. In this way, it should be possible to keep the small number of Jews who might remain there under constant pressure and to destroy them. The remaining Jews and Gypsies must be deprived of every chance of escaping through the destruction of all buildings and refugees, and the cutting off of the water supply.

It is suggested to change Prisoner Prison into a concentration camp and to use the prisoners to build roads and collect the remains of Jews, Jews who, and other materials for further construction.

Warsaw, 16 May 1943

SS and Police Leader in the
Warsaw District
(signed) Stroop
SS Major General and Major General
of the Police

HANDOUT E7.1

COUNCIL FOR AID TO JEWS "ZEGOTA"

Wladyslaw Bartoszewski

Faced with inevitable extermination, thousands of Jews broke out of the ghettos and sought refuge in the "Aryan" districts of the cities, or among the villagers, notwithstanding the hazards involved in such action. Most of these refugees were unable to take up any employment and had no means of subsistence. Many of them were in shattered and weak health without documents and money and everything — by then all perished — the situation in the underground, the life and circumstances, acquainted with them was not simple.

The Jews had become very poor themselves: the ridiculously low official wages, the purely nominal food rations, and the continuous rise in price of basic necessities (to be bought on the black market) made the situation of the average Polish workers or clerical household very critical indeed.... Even the most basic resources for the subsistence of one's family were not always available. Hence, by far the majority of Poles lacked the means with which to aid the Jews escaping from the ghettos, however much they wished to do so. At the same time the needs in this respect were growing quickly; an organized campaign had to be launched by which possibly the whole area of the Government General would be covered in a planned and comprehensive manner. The road to establishing the organizational framework of the operation had been paved by numerous references in the underground press. The idea had taken shape at one and the same

time in several milieux of the Polish underground movement, and efforts to set up

for aiding the Jews in Nazi-occupied Poland (and relying in this on the financial backing of the Government-in-Exile) were made by various people of Catholic, Democratic and Syndicalist affiliations in the summer of 1942. Pertinent talks with the leadership of the Home Delegate's Office were conducted by: Czeslawa and Teofil Wolenski of the Democratic Party, Stefan Szewowski, Chairman of the Polish Syndicalist Union, Zofia Kossak-Szatowska, the eminent writer, and Wanda Krahelska-Filipowicz who acted with the Home Army. The need for carrying out a broad, well-organized campaign in this field was also recognized by such figures as Henryk Jablonski, a member of the Home Army staff and head of the Information Section of the Home Army Chief Command's Bureau of Information and Propaganda, Henryk Wolinski, and other leaders of the underground movement. They were concerned with setting up an institution which would represent a broad spectrum of democratic forces of the Polish resistance and at the same time an efficient institution in possession of appropriate financial resources.

This conception was finally put into effect by Zofia Kossak-Szatowska ("Weronika"), Chairman of the Catholic organization Front for Reborn Poland (FOP), and Wanda Krahelska-Filipowicz ("Alina"), widely known for her work for Poland's independence within the Socialist movement before the First World War. The Provisional Konrad Zegota Committee (such was the cryptonym of the first committee for aid to Jews) was appointed by the Government Delegate's Office on September 27th, 1942: it existed until December 4th, of the same year. At first, it took direct care of about 180 people, mainly children. Its sphere of activity was mainly Warsaw, where it

opened three transit quarters available to hiding Jews at any time, distributed many documents,

Committee were opened. Branches of the Siedlce; additional contacts, Brzesc and relief given, in Lublin, Kielce, and Radom, Bochnia and a number of lok, Radom, region. in the Lublin

From the beginning this was officially supported by the Government Delegate's Office, as indicated by the following announcement in the official bulletin of the Delegate's Office, No. 18, October 1942:

it publicly number of so-called Democratic organizations of which will suffer from the results of persecution. As far as means and low, taking into account the conditions in an occupied country, the Committee will try to bring to the victims of Nazi bestiality."

The Government-in-Exile development by the Delegate 31st, 1942:

"The Civic Committee of Polish People was set up from organizations on the initiative of the Delegate's Office of the Government. Please provide us with half a million zlotys. The funds are insufficient. For organizations will contribute."

Preparations were made November 1942 for setting up a Provisional Committee. It was: Witold Bienkowski, and Wladyslaw Bartoszewski

Taken from: Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, *The Road to London* (London: The Polish Cultural Association, 1950), pp. 45-51. For the permission of Wladyslaw Bartoszewski.

HANDOUT E7.1 (cont.)

born Poland; Ferdynand Arczynski for the Democratic Party; Julian Grobelny for the Polish Socialist Party (PPS - WRN); and also representatives of Jewish parties on the "Aryan" side: Leon Feiner (Bund) and Adolf Berman (Jewish National Committee). On December 4th, 1942, the Provisional Committee was formally disbanded, giving place to the newly set up Council for Aid to Jews (RPZ for *Rada Pomocy Żydom*) of the Government's Delegate (at the same time the name Council for Aid to Jews of the Government Delegate's Office was used, and sometimes also the Council for the Care of Jews of the Delegate's Office). The Council for Aid to Jews adopted the cryptonym "Zegota," at first unofficially, in order to avoid using the word "Jews" in initial talks, as dangerous in conditions of the occupation. With time, this cryptonym was used in correspondence and signing bills, and was even used to refer to other cases of bringing relief to the Jews than those mediated by the Council (RPZ).

• • •

In the summer of 1943 a section was opened within the Council which had to extend the broadest possible care to the still existing concentrations of Jews, as well as to individually hiding Jews, in the country (outside Warsaw, Cracow and Łódź). This action was headed by Szymon Szrejbak ("Szymon") of the PPS - WRN, organizer of the Committee for Aid to Jews in the General Government.

The Children's Section, under Irena Sendler ("Irena"), took on with the difficult problem of orphaned Jewish children or those separated from their parents. These youngsters were placed individually with Polish families or in

groups in various homes, hospitals, orphanages, monasteries and convents, and educational and custodial institutions.

• • •

In the last months of 1943 a medical section was organized within the Council for Aid to Jews (RPZ); its task was to provide medical assistance by trusted and initiated doctors to Jews in hiding. The head of this section was Dr. Ludwik Rostkowski who had been active in the underground movement for three years in what was called the Coordinating Committee of Democratic and Socialist Doctors.

• • •

Directly benefitting from the Council's work were some 4,000 people in Warsaw alone (in 1943 and 1944), out of a total of some 20,000 Jews then hiding in the capital. The money grants were distributed each month by the cells aiding the Jews operating in the various underground civic, political and military organizations as well as within different professional milieux (e.g., among teachers, lawyers, or journalists). The coded receipts were sent back to the Council and were subjected to control by the Auditing Commission (during the first ten months of activity the Commission held 16 meetings). Every organization or party taking part in the work of the Council took permanent care of a fixed number of Jews in hiding, assigning a special team, or liaison people, responsible for keeping in touch with the "charges." The hazards involved in this work were much greater than those arising from contacts with skilled underground workers, for the "charges" were often completely uninitiated in the underground rules of conduct. Hence the

enormous risks the liaison men (or rather, liaison girls, since these were mostly women) were running in their work for the Council. This work consisted not only in conveying money and forged documents, but also in conducting (on foot or in some vehicle or public transport) the ghetto escapees, sometimes women and little children, from one place to another; they had also to care for those people in ways entirely different from the routine duties of underground liaison personnel (e.g., regular supply of foodstuffs)....

An extremely important role in the work of the Council was that of the "legalizing bureau," looked after by Ferdynand Arczynski from the Board. Every day this bureau produced dozens of forged documents: identity cards, employment cards, various types of work cards, certificates, passes, birth and marriage certificates, and the like. These were supplied free of charge to the Jews in hiding within the sphere of work of the Council, in order to enable them to move freely around and in some cases (chiefly women) to take up legal jobs....

HANDOUT E7.2

APPEAL BY THE POLISH UNDERGROUND ASSOCIATION FOR AID TO THE JEWS, ZEGOTA, ASKING FOR HELP IN HIDING JEWS AND FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF TRAITORS

German hangmen, and soon the courts of the Free Polish Republic will carry out a full measure of justice against such individuals.

Polish Independence Organizations
Warsaw, September 1943

Poles!

The German murderer is trying to tell the world that it was we who set fire to the Warsaw Ghetto and we who murdered Jews, and the part played by the German soldiers in this crime is called "armed intervention."

We and our children, who are suffering all the terror of bloody occupation and are unable at present to defend ourselves, could not give the Jews effective aid in their struggle at this time of crisis.

No Pole who is faithful to Christian morality has taken part or will take part in this terrible crime. In the record of glowing deeds of heroism performed by Underground Poland will be engraved, no less than other deeds, deeds of heroism in the saving of people from the Hitlerite beast.

The late Prime Minister of the Polish Republic in London, General Sikorski, in branding the unprecedented German crimes before the world, sent a message of gratitude to the Fatherland for its firm stand and for the help it is giving to the Jews in their terrible situation.

The leadership of the Polish struggle and the special courts are already sentencing to death traitors and the collaborators who give away Jews to the

Taken from W. Sieroszewski and Z. Lomkowski, eds. Wspomnienia z lat 1939-1945: Polacy wobec Holokaustu (Warsaw: 1994) 346-347. (London, 1994) Used by permission of W. Sieroszewski.

HANDOUT E-8

THE OTHER WARSAW UPRISING

When Nazi Germany conquered Poland in September 1939, Polish national culture and non-Jewish Polish lives, like Jewish culture and Jewish lives, were deeply threatened by Nazi ideas of "Aryan" racial superiority. And like the Jews, the Slavic Poles fought back.

Underground fighting units sprang up all over the nation – in both city and countryside – and eventually most came together under the loose umbrella of the *Armia Krajowa*, or Polish Home Army. The fighters did what they could to harass and hamper the Nazis: derailing trains, ambushing convoys, rescuing prisoners, spiriting national art treasures to safety, even boldly assassinating SS officers.

But their finest hour came in 1944 with the Warsaw Rising, a 63-day rebellion within the city of Warsaw that succeeded in capturing back parts of the city before ending in total defeat for the fighters and in tragedy for all of Warsaw's citizens. For the Allies, and especially the British, the Warsaw Rising was distinctly **not** the war's finest hour. They had promised more backing than they ended up giving, so that the very considerable bravery of the Poles came to nothing in the face of superior German forces. And the Poles paid dearly. By July 31, 1944, the eve of the Warsaw Rising, the Poles were more than ready for full-scale rebellion. Nazi rule had been ruthless from the first.

The Jews...as the untouchables of Nazi ideology, suffered most. They were herded together for outright extermination as a Nazi priority. But the main body of the Poles, too, were to be victims under the Nazi grand design outlined in

Taken from: "The Other Warsaw Uprising," *The Buffalo News Magazine* (July 24, 1983), pp. 18-19. Reprinted by permission of *The Buffalo News Magazine* and Steve Lipman.

Adolf Hitler's book, *Mein Kampf*, and in official Nazi documents. As Slavs, most were to become slave labor in service of the German state. That meant the young, old, sick and weak were expendable, and no care would be taken to preserve their lives. Anyone who showed the least talent or training for leadership was dangerous to the plan and would have to die.

Local politicians, officials, teachers, religious leaders and sometimes anyone with a college degree were shot in Polish towns soon after the Nazis arrived. Peasant families occupying land targeted for German resettlement were sent to a camp at Zamosc and worked or starved to death, and the Nazis also tried to reduce city populations through starvation. There were random roundups of ordinary citizens – in apartment buildings, trams and cafes – for shipment to Auschwitz. Reprisals for acts of resistance were swift and severe, usually involving mass shootings.

Organized resistance to Nazi rule began very early and established clandestine contact with the Polish government in exile in London. The Home Army became the largest resistance movement in Europe. At its height from 1942 to 1944, it comprised about 400,000 fighters. The weapons were mostly rifles and sidearms hidden by soldiers after Poland surrendered, arms captured from German soldiers, and weapons dropped into Poland by parachute from Great Britain.

Home Army soldiers received no uniforms and no pay. "It was strictly a volunteer army," says Karol Tomaszewski, who served in the Home Army for one year as a teen-ager. Tomaszewski, now senior drafting technician for the Buffalo Sewer Authority, was a corporal in the Home Army. His group of fighters sabotaged railroads, bridges, buildings and bunkers. He says the Jewish uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto inspired the soldiers in the Home Army. "We were waiting for

the day when we could get even with the Germans," he says. By Aug. 1, 1944, there was much to get even for.

The Russians were advancing quickly in the east in the days leading up to the rebellion, and the Germans were badly outnumbered at the front. Parts of the country had already been reconquered, and citizens in Warsaw could hear guns a few miles to the east. The Home Army had made plans long ago for a nationwide revolt against the Germans once the time was right. The government in exile in London, was not sure this was indeed the time, but inside Warsaw, Home Army insurgents were gathering and anxious for battle. British support seemed sure, and the Russians were close by. There were more freedom fighters than guns, but men were ready to fight in any way they could. Civilians were ready with plans and supplies for soup kitchens, first aid stations, message centers and impromptu bomb and Molotov cocktail factories. On Aug. 1, under Home Army Gen. Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski, the Warsaw Rising began.

Spirits were high at first, and the going was surprisingly easy. Street after street fell to the rebels, and by nightfall the Home Army actually controlled large areas of Warsaw. Polish flags went up. Warsaw was jubilant. After five long years, the Poles were getting a taste of freedom.

The Germans were biding their time. German reinforcements had entered the city; German positions at the front were being rapidly strengthened. The Russian advance was sputtering to a stop practically within sight of Warsaw.

In Berlin, Hitler greeted news of the Warsaw Rising with orders that the necessary manpower be sent in to crush the rebels and that Warsaw itself be razed. Heinrich Himmler crossed into Poland and personally gave the orders for regular Army troops, SS units and police forces to go to Warsaw.

HANDOUT E-8 (cont.)

On Aug. 5, five days into the uprising, the Germans were ready to counterattack. With tanks, troops and aerial bombardment, they quickly recaptured a working-class district known as Wola. Once inside, SS troops took fierce vengeance on the population, herding thousands of people out of their apartments and houses and shooting them en masse.

The Poles held on in other sections of the city, but they were badly outmatched. Bombarded daily with aircraft and artillery, they could answer only with homemade grenades and Molotov cocktails, and sometimes with rifles. By the 15th much of the city was on fire. And the expected Allied air drops of new arms and ammunition were not coming in anything like the numbers expected.

Writing after the war in his six-volume history, "The Second World War," Winston Churchill told the story behind the failure of Allied help. British planes trying to fly supplies to Warsaw had to take off in Italy and make a 700-mile flight. They needed to refuel somewhere near Warsaw, and that meant somewhere in Russian-held territory. But, Churchill wrote, Stalin would not give the British permission to land. And until Sept. 15, no Russian planes joined in the airlift. (Later some Russians did fly in supplies, but they were too little and too late.) Apparently the Russian desire to keep Poland militarily weak overrode the common aim of defeating the Germans.

The Home Army, meanwhile, was suffering heavy losses despite determination and many acts of individual bravery. District by district, the Germans retook the city. Home Army troops fell by the thousands, and units were cut off from one another. With supplies, especially ammunition running out, the Home Army commanders decided to surrender. Negotiations began, and

the Germans agreed that the Home Army troops would be treated as prisoners of war and held by the German army, not the infamous SS. On Oct. 5 the Poles surrendered. The Germans kept their promise. The Home Army was destroyed, but many of its troops would survive the war in POW camps.

Warsaw's civilians, however, did not come under the agreement. After the surrender all were marched out of the city, either to labor camps in Poland or to forced labor in Germany. Many would not survive. (It is estimated that 200,000 Poles died as the result of the Warsaw Rising).

German troops took all valuables left behind and shipped them to Germany. And then, with dynamite and flamethrowers, they destroyed every building still standing in Warsaw.

When the city was finally taken by the Russians in January 1945, it was empty and desolate. But Poles quickly began returning there, and they insisted that Warsaw continue to be the capital, as it had always been. About half the city's population of 1.2 million had died in the war, including virtually all of its 300,000 Jews. But those who could return did so, others came with them, and the work of rebuilding began.

With the Home Army gone, the Russians were the new force to be reckoned with, and the new government was set up according to their liking. But the Warsaw Rising, like so many other Polish acts of resistance against incredible odds, had showed the world the mettle of the Poles. And when the Polish flags went up again in Warsaw, they stayed.

THE WARSAW RISING

Andrzej Wirth

One year later, in August, the "final solution" was imposed by the Nazis on Warsaw itself. With the Red Army positioned on the right bank of the

Vistula in the role of passive observer, Warsaw was sealed off, "walled up," and transformed into a ghetto. Admittedly there was an armed uprising, and a desperate street battle was waged by the underground (AK and AL), which lasted for two long months. However, the methods of destruction the Nazis used were the same. In October 1944 the entire population was forcibly expelled, "transported onward" (*abtransportiert*), and "transferred" (*verlagert*). With every fourth inhabitant of Warsaw buried under the rubble, the motto of the Stroop Report could have been rewritten "Warsaw is no more!"

The mass executions, the use of heavy arms against a civilian population, the setting of fires, the gassing and dynamiting of sewers where people had sought refuge — these methods of the Ghetto "grand operation" were perfected and used on a larger scale, this time against "Poles and bandits."

• • •

Taken from: Sybil Milton, translator. *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter of Warsaw is No More!* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979). Introduction. Used by permission of Pantheon Books, a Division of Random House, Inc.

JEWISH REVOLTS 1942 - 1945

Despite the overwhelming military strength of the German forces, many Jews, while weakened by hunger and terrorised by Nazi brutality, nevertheless rose in revolt against their fate, not only in many of the Ghettoes in which they were forcibly confined, but even in the concentration camps themselves, snatching from the very gates of death the slender possibility of survival.

★ Ghettoes in which Jews rose up in revolt against the Germans, with dates. Many of those who revolted were able to escape to the woods, and to join Jewish, Polish or Soviet partisan groups.

☠ Death camps in which the Jews revolted, with date of the revolt. In almost every instance, those who revolted were later caught and murdered.

This map shows twenty of the Ghettoes and five of the death camps in which Jews joined together and sought, often almost unarmed, to strike back at their tormentors. These twenty-five uprisings are among the most noble and courageous episodes not only of Jewish, but of world history.



Martin Gilbert. Maps from *The Holocaust*. Copyright (c) 1978 by Martin Gilbert. Reprinted by permission of Hill and Wang, a division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc.

Handout E-9.2

REVOLT OF THE SONDERKOMMANDO SQUAD AT AUSCHWITZ

Since the SS intended to murder all the prisoners who were employed in the crematoria burning the corpses (*Sonderkommando*), the members of that squad organized a rebellion which ended with crematorium IV being burned down and crematorium II in Birkenau being partly demolished. One prisoner employed in this "*Kommando*" thus related how the rebellion had been prepared,

"There are contacts with all circles. We have started our work, our actual preparations. Our allies are those who are working in the other "*Kommandos*," mostly Russians."

The rebellion did not achieve its objective as planned, because it had started earlier than intended. But the heroic behaviour of the rebels became an example to other prisoners in their fight against Nazi oppression. The Military Council of the Auschwitz organization expressed the following estimate of a possible uprising which would liberate the prisoners:

"The Military Council of the camp thinks that an action towards liberating the camp, whether total or partial, is of a tremendous importance in view of the international significance of Auschwitz, one of the dreariest symbols of Nazi Germany. The Military Council would not wish the action of liberating Auschwitz to be regarded solely as a matter of helping the prisoners. The Military Council of the camp thinks that the Auschwitz camps contain – from a military point of view – vast reserves of manpower."

• • •

Taken from: Kazimierz Smolen. *Auschwitz: 1940-1945* (Państwowe Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 1976), pp. 91-92. Used by permission of the Consulate General of Poland.

HANDOUT E-9.3

THE TREBLINKA REVOLT

*Shalom Kohn
(Stanislaw Kon)*

SHALOM KOHN (STANISLAW KON) was born in 1910 in the little town of Praczka, Poland. He settled in Lodz, where he worked as a building contractor. He served in the Polish army for 18 months. After his discharge in 1933, he regularly participated in military exercises until the outbreak of World War II, when he was called to active duty. His outfit held out for 20 days before being overrun by German tank troops. After Poland's surrender, he made his way home. On October 1, 1942, Kohn, his young wife and her mother were deported to Treblinka. The boxcar in which they traveled held about 100 passengers; Kohn's wife and mother-in-law went to the gas chambers, but since Kohn himself was young and strong, the Germans put him to work as a slave laborer, carrying corpses and sorting the clothes of new arrivals. He frequently received beatings from the SS men and the Ukrainian guards. He actively participated in the Treblinka uprising, during which he was able to escape from the camp. He is now living in Israel.

"The Holocaust will follow me to my grave," he said on the witness stand at the Fort Lauderdale trial. "Every year, on August 2, the anniversary of the Treblinka uprising, we meet in Tel Aviv to pray together.... The memory is with me all the time."

Even before I arrived at Treblinka, i.e., before October 1, 1942, cases of individual revenge on

the part of Jews had been reported. Thus, for example, a Jewish man from Warsaw who worked in one of the death details and had seen his wife and child taken away to the gas chambers, attacked the SS man Max Bielek with a knife and killed him on the spot. From that day on, the SS barracks bore the name of this Hitlerite "martyr." But neither the plaque on the wall of the barracks nor the massacre of Jews that followed this attack deterred us. On the contrary: this episode encouraged us to fight and take our revenge. The young man from Warsaw became our ideal.

As we witnessed Hitler's horrible methods of extermination, a desire for revenge burned within us and grew each day, starting to concretize into something precise, particularly from the moment when the 50-year-old doctor, Chorazycki of Warsaw, began to be active. This doctor worked in the camp as a "medical counselor," a position invented by the Germans to mock the hapless victims even more cruelly before dispatching them to the gas chamber. He was a calm, prudent man who on the surface appeared rather cold. He went around in his white apron with the Red Cross emblem on his arm as he had in the old days at his Warsaw office, and he seemed completely detached from what was going on around him. But beneath his apron beat a warm Jewish heart, aflame with a desire for revenge.

After the gruesome experiences of the day, the four plotters of the revolt met by night around his plank bed and discussed the plans. Their first problem was how to get hold of the weapons and explosives which were needed. These four men were the above-mentioned Dr. Chorazycki, the Czech army officer Zelo (Bloch) — a Jew, of course — (Zev) Kurland from Warsaw and Lubling from Silesia. After a short time, when it was considered necessary to enlarge the organization committee, we were joined by Leon Haberman, an ar-

tisan from Warsaw; Salzberg, a furrier from Kieck; a 22-year-old youth from Warsaw named Marcus, and the Warsaw agronomist Sudowicz. We could procure arms either from the outside or else we could steal them from the Germans and Ukrainians inside the camp itself. We tried both ways. We began to make a study of the camp arsenal and the headquarters barrack. But they were guarded by Germans and there was no way for us to get in. At first, we thought of digging a subterranean passage, but we felt this would be difficult, because of the constant danger of discovery. Then we decided at all costs to manufacture a duplicate key to the arsenal. This could only be done, however, if one of us could somehow gain access to the iron door of the arsenal. We had no alternative but to wait for a propitious moment.

An opportunity soon presented itself. Somehow the lock of the arsenal got jammed and the Germans had to call in one of the Jewish mechanics to fix it.

The Germans were extremely cautious. They had the door taken off its hinges and taken to the workshop. However, the mechanic managed to distract the attention of the German guard for just one moment, and managed to make an impression of the key in cobbler's wax. A few days later, our group received a key to the arsenal. We guarded it like a precious relic, waiting for the proper opportunity to use it. Dr. Chorazycki himself assumed the task of acquiring weapons from outside the camp. He managed to get in touch with a Ukrainian guard who agreed, for a large sum of money, of course, to buy some light weapons for us. A few of our purchases were safely smuggled in, but then something happened which put an end to our (hope for additional) equipment and cost the life of Dr. Chorazycki. One day, while the doctor had with him a large amount of money intended for the guard, the camp's vice-commandant, SS Untersturmf-

Taken from: Alexander Donat, editor. *The Death Camp Treblinka: A Documentary* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), pp. 224-230. Used by permission of Holocaust Publications, Inc.

HANDOUT E-9.3 (cont.)

fuehrer Franz, a bloody murderer notorious for his sadist methods, entered the room, accompanied by his dog, Barry. By pure chance, Franz spotted the packet of banknotes peeping out of the doctor's apron pocket.

"Give me that money!" the SS man roared. He suspected that the doctor was planning to escape from the camp. Chorazycki attacked him with a surgical lancet, stabbing him in the neck. Franz was able to jump out of the window and call for help. Well aware of the tortures which would await him, and realizing the threat to the entire conspiracy, Chorazycki swiftly swallowed a large dose of poison which the conspirators always carried on their persons. The SS men rushed up and tried to revive him in order to take their revenge, but to no avail.

In this way the initiator of the revolt died, but his death did not put an end to the matter. On the contrary, it encouraged the others to continue.

If Dr. Chorazycki was the initiator and the leader of the Treblinka revolt, then the title of chief of staff must be given to Captain Zelo. The participation of this military expert greatly facilitated the fulfillment of a mission which was both difficult and complicated. At difficult moments, when many of us fell prey to resignation and abandoned all hope of a revolt, Captain Zelo continued to encourage us to carry on. When he was transferred to another part of the camp, all the plans and decisions were submitted to him for his approval despite the danger involved in such contacts.

The engineer Galewski of Lodz was chosen to replace Dr. Chorazycki. He, too, dedicated himself to the cause with all his heart. He was a very cautious, reserved man, and this proved useful to our cause.

The date of the revolt was postponed several times for various reasons. The first date was fixed

in April, 1943, while Dr. Chorazycki was still alive. And then the last transports of Jews from the Warsaw ghetto were brought to Treblinka. From them we first learned about the Warsaw ghetto revolt. The Germans treated them with particular savagery; most of the railroad cars were full of the corpses of ghetto fighters who had refused to leave the ghetto alive. Those who now arrived were no longer resigned and indifferent creatures like those who had come before them.

The leaders decided that the hour for the revolt had arrived. In the camp there were a number of so-called "Court Jews," boys who rendered personal services to the Germans, like cleaning their quarters, etc. These individuals enjoyed a certain freedom of movement within the camp. At times they even were able to get close to the arsenal. The leadership decided to entrust to these boys the task of expropriating 100 hand grenades from the arsenal on the day of the revolt.

They proved to be equal to the task. Haberman, who worked in the German laundry, the shoe black Marcus, and Jacek, a Hungarian boy of 12, managed to get his hands on a certain number of hand grenades. Exceptionally lithe and skillful, the boy Salsberg, age 14, son of the leader we have already mentioned, took a huge pile of SS uniforms as though he were taking them to the tailor's for pressing, but in fact the pockets of these uniforms were filled with hand grenades. Unfortunately these hand grenades lacked detonators, and for this reason the revolt had to be postponed at the very last moment.

Meanwhile, we were joined by other activists. Dr. Leichert, of Wengrow, whom the Nazis had selected from a new transport to replace Dr. Chorazycki, soon became a member of the committee. We were also joined by a Czech, Rudolf Masaryk.... He had refused to leave his Jewish wife and had accompanied her to Treblinka.

Here, he became one of the most active members of the revolt. He had seen his pregnant wife in the gas chamber. Masaryk also mention Rudek, the very important for our operations there (in the garage) that we

Months of waiting and witness the German atrocities, arrived in long lines this was the name the given to the building that bera. Untersturmfuehrer speeches: "The gas chamber as long as so much world."

The desire for revenge. The terror-stricken eyes of to their death and were the bers cried out for revenge.

At last the leaders. The date had been August 2, 1943, at 3 p.m. This was to lay an ambush for the telephone wires; to burn the termination plants so that they could again; to free the Pole; to flee into the woods.

An atmosphere of great camp that Monday morning all their energies to calm. Finally, special inspectors that the normal quota of work was order not to arouse suspicion.

HANDOUT EA 3 (cont.)

plan near home only to the 60 people who constituted the nucleus of the fighting organization. The activists were divided into three groups and, as soon as the signal would be given, each group was to occupy the position assigned to it.

At one o'clock in the afternoon we lined up as we had been doing every day for the roll call, the last roll call in this camp before we were taken to the execution. But when (Captain) the head of a group of workers, told us that work that day would end at three o'clock, then we knew because Sebastian (Kotler) was going to Wallonia to battle on the new flag. We gave a little work as though willing to the "last" we had prepared for the Nazis.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the distribution of weapons began. Young Saldberg and the other looked for weapons in their houses. Outside. They managed to find about a score of rifles and one machine gun and took them to the garage. It was very difficult to find the hand grenades from the arsenal. That day a lot of garbage was being removed from near the arsenal. This was very convenient but it disturbed the camp administration. SS man Miller, who had just arrived and wanted to sleep. The administrator, Buchner, who was in charge of the garden, called on him with the excuse of wanting to talk over some problem relating to the plants. At the same time Marcus and Saldberg picked up the rifle and kept them in front of the arsenal, so that the guards had to move out of the way for a while. At that moment the door of the arsenal was opened with one key and lock, the Hungarian key, slipped inside, climbed onto the window sill at the end of the room, used a diamond to cut out a small square in the glass and handed the rifles and other weapons to Jacob Miller from Windhamer-Molyneux, who was waiting outside, and put

them on his garbage cart. The arms were taken to the garage. This time the hand grenades had their detonators all right and acted as a spur to fighting spirit.

Spies were arrested and it seemed that no one would be able to keep the secret. The leaders therefore decided to give the secret an hour before the time originally agreed upon.

At four o'clock during the afternoon, messages were sent to all the groups with orders to assemble immediately at the garage to get up their weapons. The leaders of each one responsible for the distribution. Anyone who came to fetch weapons had to give the password "Death" or which the proper reply was "Life" "Death! Life! Death! Life!" Code of distinction came as the long-awaited rifles, revolvers and hand grenades were handed out. At the same time the chief members of the camp were arrested. Telephone wires were cut and the watchtowers were set on fire with gasoline. Captain Zola was shot and SS guards with us in the garage in to take over the command.

Now the garage door a German arrived but he did not enter, put the motor out of commission. Now the car moved to an ambush room which is one of the Germans. Our gunfire killed Buchner, who had just arrived and shot him down. The arsenal was taken by assault and the captured weapons handed out to the insurgents. We already had 400 armed men. The others attacked the Germans with axes and stones.

We set fire to the gas chambers, to the "kitchen," burned the simulated railroad station with all the fake signs: "Bismarck-Werkzeug," "Office," "Ticket," "Waiting Room," etc. The bar racks which bore the name of the Nazi hangman Max Müller were also set on fire.

Captain Zola gave commands and encouraged the men in flight. Nobody cared about his own life. A fiery spirit of revenge had taken hold of us.

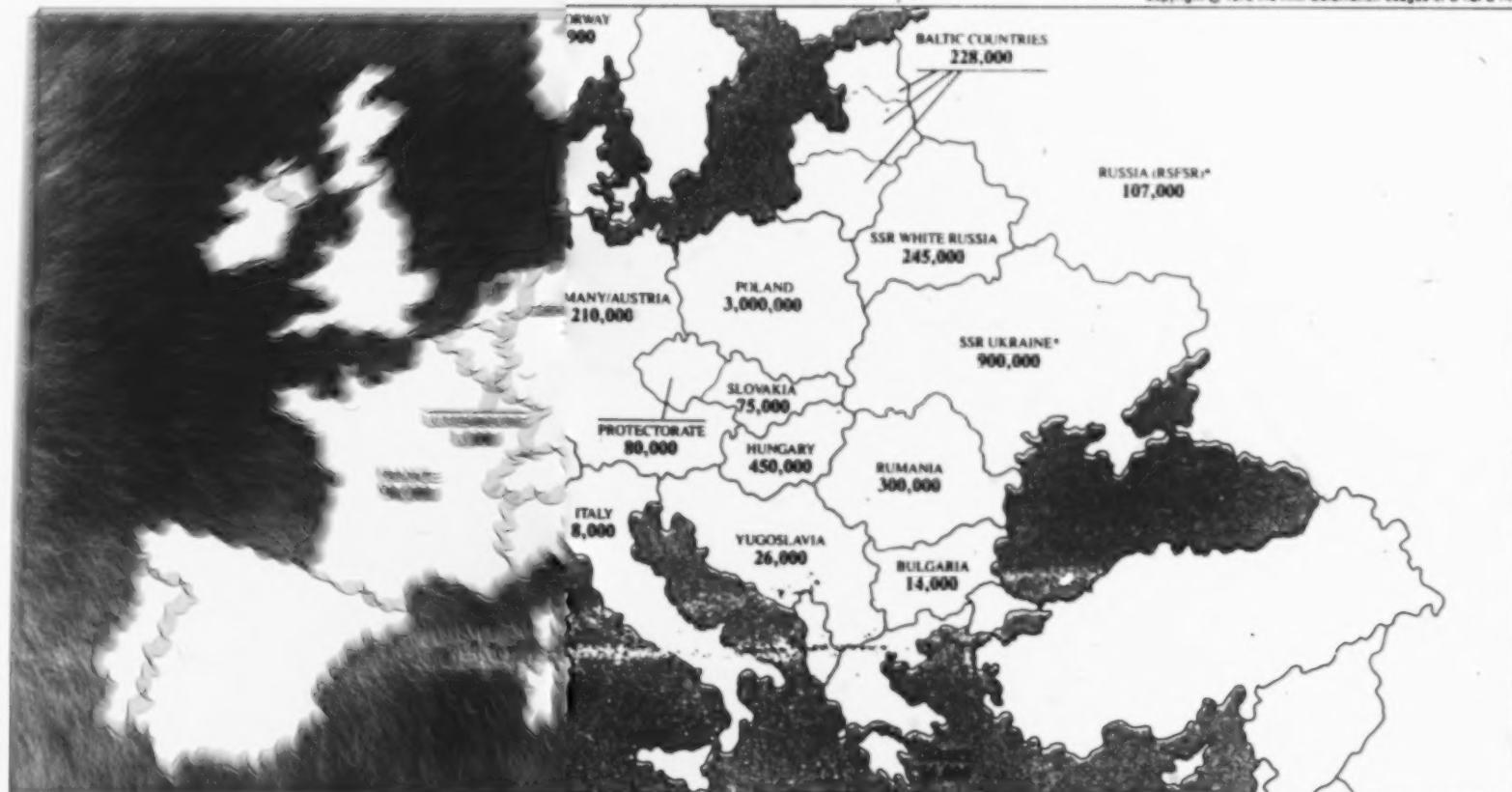
We had acquired more weapons; we even had a machine gun now. Rudolf Masaryk took care of it. He stationed himself on the roof of the pigeon house and poured fire on the confused Germans. Through the exchange of fire we can hear his voice shouting, "Take that for my wife, and take that for my child who did not even have a chance to come into the world! And take that, you cowards, for the humanity which you have so cruelly and brutally!"

Ordered to action by the flames and the firing, the Germans began to arrive from all sides. SS and police arrived from the camp, soldiers from the nearby airport and finally a special squad of the Wehrmacht. A full-scale battle developed. Captain Zola was shooting in and out among the flames, giving us courage and inspiring us to fight on. He gave orders, commands, advice — until a Nazi bullet pierced his heart.

Night fell. The battle had already been going on for six hours. The Germans were getting very exhausted, and our ranks had become thinner. Our ammunition was running out.

We had been ordered to make for the nearby woods. None of us believed that but there were many German casualties. Very few of us survived.

Translated from *Der Neger-Lager, Warsaw*
May 19, 1944



Six Million Murdered

There is no way to establish an accurate figure for the total number of Jews murdered in World War II. In 1945, the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal estimated that 5,700,000 Jews had been killed by the Nazis, representing two-thirds of the pre-war European Jewish population.

Taken from: The Record - The Holocaust in History 1933-1945. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Reprinted by permission.

F. Responses by Individuals, Institutions, and Nations

Statement of Purpose:

Perhaps the most universal question asked about the Nazi Holocaust is "Why? Why was this tragedy allowed to happen?" It is very important that students attempt to deal with this question by looking at the individual, institutional, and national responses to the Holocaust.

Objectives:

- Students will examine and explain some individual, institutional, and national responses to the Holocaust;
- Students will conclude that a crisis of the magnitude of the Holocaust will bring a variety of responses and not necessarily one of universal condemnation and action.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Introduce this section by using these two quotes:

"The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

Edmund Burke

"If I am not for myself, who will be for me? But if I am for only myself, what am I? And if not now, when?"

Hillel

Describe the background of the two men quoted. Edmund Burke was a British statesman and orator who lived from 1729 to 1797. Hillel was one of the most revered spiritual leaders of the Jewish people. He lived during the latter part of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the first century A.D.

Then, discuss with students these two ideas in

the context of responses to the Armenian massacres and the Nazi Holocaust.

- The European response to the Holocaust was not one of universal condemnation and action. Ask students to define the word collaboration. Have students examine Handouts F-1.1, F-1.2, and F-1.3 and then develop a continuum of responses ranging from collaboration to active resistance. Next have students or small groups of students propose possible reasons for each of the responses on the continuum. Canvass students in order to identify and explain their positions on the continuum. Discuss the following questions:

- What difficulties faced those who actively aided their Jewish neighbors and friends?
- What response did the majority of Europeans make? Why?
- Why did some Europeans collaborate with the Nazis in the war against the Jews?

Using Handout F-1.2, have students answer the following questions:

- Does the article deal with collaboration?
- What reasons does it offer for collaboration?
- Which behavior patterns described in Unit I are noted in this reading?

- Using Handout F-2, students will deal with the issue of Helga's dilemma. Vary the circumstances as the discussion continues in order to provoke continued student involvement with the issue.

Distribute Handout F-2, which describes Helga's dilemma. Make sure that students understand the terminology in the dilemma and can state the nature of the dilemma Helga faced.

Determine by a show of hands or in some other way how the class feels about whether Helga should hide Rachel. If the class divides with no

less than one-third of the students on each side of the issue, proceed with the discussion, skipping the alternative dilemmas.

ALTERNATIVE DILEMMAS

If the class agrees that Helga **SHOULD** hide Rachel, one of the following alternative dilemmas can be used to provoke disagreement.

- Suppose Helga had only met Rachel once and did not know her well. What should she do in that case?
- Suppose Helga knew that she and her family would be sent to prison camp if she were caught hiding Rachel. What should she do in that case?

If the class agrees that Helga **SHOULD NOT** hide Rachel, one of the following alternative dilemmas can be used to provoke disagreement.

- Suppose Helga heard the Gestapo coming and knew that Rachel would be shot on sight within a few minutes if she did not hide her. What should she do in that case?
- Suppose that Helga believed that if a number of people resisted Nazi policies toward Jews, the regime would change its policy of persecuting minorities. What should she do in that case?

PROBE QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- Should Helga risk the welfare of her family to save the life of her friend? Why or why not?
- Should a person ever risk the welfare of relatives for the welfare of friends? Why or why not?

Teaching strategy for "Helga's Dilemma" taken from: Edwin Fenton, John Good, Linda Rosenzweig, and George Gregory. *Teacher's Guide for the Shaping of Western Society: An Inquiry Approach*. 1974. pp. 183-185. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc.

- What is the most important thing that one friend owes to another? Why?
- Should a person ever risk his or her own life for someone else? Why or why not?
- Is a person ever justified in hiding someone who is fleeing from the authorities? Why or why not?
- As a continuation of "Helga's Dilemma," student groups might complete the following decision-making, composition activity. This activity focuses on the moral values and social issues discussed in the earlier lesson about Helga's dilemma.

Setting:

After reading "Helga's Dilemma" (Handout F-2), imagine that you are Helga. Realizing that listing the reasons for and against certain actions is often helpful in reaching decisions, you decide to develop a chart to help you consider both sides of the issue as to whether or not you should hide Rachel.

Task:

Create a chart to help you examine reasons for and against hiding Rachel. Consider both the practical and ethical aspects. Your chart may be organized as follows:

Practical Reasons	
For Hiding	Against Hiding
Ethical Reasons	
For Hiding	Against Hiding

Next, mark the reasons in their order of importance to you. Finally, write a brief paragraph revealing your conclusion about how you would handle the dilemma.

- Introduce the concept of the "Righteous Gen-

tile," a term used by Yad Vashem, the Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority in Jerusalem, to honor Gentiles who risked their own lives to save Jews from the Nazis. Handouts F-3.1 and F-3.2 describe the efforts of several Righteous Gentiles, including Raoul Wallenberg. Handout F-3.3 describes the efforts of several other heroes of the Holocaust including Tibor Baranski, Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, and Jan Karski. Handout F-3.4 deals with the motivations of those individuals who risked their own lives to save the lives of others. The final handout in this section, F-3.5, includes a map identifying the righteous among the nations as honored by Yad Vashem.

Two excellent films which describe the actions of ordinary citizens who saved Jewish lives are *Avenue of the Just* (55 minutes/color/Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith) and *Denmark '43* (22 minutes/bw/ADL). *Joseph Schultz* (14 minutes/color/ADL) is another film which may be used to demonstrate what actions some individuals took to defy Nazi authority. The following books feature historical accounts about the actions of righteous Gentiles in Nazi-occupied Europe:

- Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, editors. *Righteous Among the Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939-1945* (London: Earls Court Publications, 1969).
- Bartoszewski and Lewin. *The Samaritans: Heroes of the Holocaust* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970).
- Philip Hallie. *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed: The Story of the Village of Le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).
- Peter Hellman. *Avenue of the Righteous* (New York: Atheneum, 1980).
- Kazimierz Iranek-Osmecki. *He Who Saves*

One Life (New York: Crown Publishers, 1971).

- Fernande Leboucher. *Incredible Mission* (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1969).

As students read the handout materials, have them respond to the following questions:

- Who were the "Righteous Gentiles" and what risks did they take in saving Jewish lives?
- What reasons do historians give for the actions taken by the righteous among the nations?
- How did the righteous overcome indifference to the suffering of others? What reasons might they have given for their acts of courage? (Refer to Helga's dilemma lesson.)
- What examples of acts of courage can we point to today?
- Every European nation, including Nazi Germany, can claim individuals or organizations that saved Jewish lives. However, only in Denmark did almost everyone, from shopkeepers and fishermen to King Christian X, actively work to rescue their Jews. Students need to explore the issue, "why Denmark?" Have students read Handouts F-4.1 and F-4.2 and then respond to the following questions:
 - What role did anti-Semitism play in Danish society? How did Danish attitudes differ from German attitudes? From attitudes in other Nazi-occupied countries?
 - In what ways did Denmark's geography aid the rescue of Danish Jews?
 - What evidence is there that Danish Jews had close family and social ties to the broader Danish population?
 - What proportion of the Danish population was Jewish? How might this fact have affected rescue efforts?
 - Why did Danish public opinion toward the

Germans change during the period from 1940 to 1943?

- How widespread was the participation of the average citizen in the rescue of the Jews? Why?
- What roles did Danish institutions (government, churches, universities) play in the rescue?
- Why did the Danes reject the authority and the racism of the Nazi occupation forces?
- What factors had the greatest impact upon Danish actions both during and immediately after the war?
- In what ways did the Danish experience differ from that of other Nazi-occupied nations?

After discussing these questions, students should complete the checklist in Handout F-4.3. For each factor listed, have students rate on a scale from 1 to 5, the extent to which each factor contributed to the ultimate salvation of 98.5% of Denmark's Jews. Have students compare their results and give reasons for their rankings.

For more information concerning the Jewish experience in Denmark, students should consult Harold Flender's *Rescue in Denmark* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1963).

• The Churches' Responses to the Nazi Holocaust

Historians continue to debate the actions taken by the leaders of the major religious groups during the Nazi occupation of Europe. Some historians argue that the efforts of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious leaders were for the most part inadequate. Other historians maintain that these religious leaders did all that was humanly possible considering the circumstances at the time. Rather than have students attempt to prove one viewpoint or the

other, have them treat the issue as a problem of historical inquiry.

The materials selected for this section will provide students with varying interpretations of the available historical facts. These materials include the following items:

Handout F-5.1 - John T. Pawlikowski

"The Holocaust: Failure in Christian Leadership?"

Handout F-5.2 - Anthony Rhodes

"Pius XII and the Jews"

Handout F-5.3 -

Diplomatic correspondence related to the Vatican

Handout F-5.3 (cont.) -

Excerpts from the Pope's Christmas Eve Broadcasts, 1941 and 1942

Handout F-5.4 - Warren Green

"Blessed Maximilian Kolbe - Martyr of Auschwitz"

Handout F-5.5 - Ira Hirschman

"Operation Baptism: The Future Pope John XXIII Saves Hungarian Jews"

Handout F-5.6 - Philip Friedman

"Metropolitan Andreas Szeptycki"

Handout F-5.6 (cont.) -

"The Actions of Other Church Leaders"

To begin this historical study concerning the actions of the churches, ask students to read Handouts F-5.1 and F-5.2. *Please note:* Only the last paragraph of the Pawlikowski article (Handout F-5.1) is intended as a student handout. The rest of the reading is for teacher background. Students should also refer to materials included in Unit III B, "Nazi Thought." Have students summarize the major points included in the readings and restate the Nazi view of organized religions (see Handout B-2 in Unit III). Ask students to discuss how Protestant, Catholic, and other religions re-

sponded to the Nazi extermination policies for Jews, Poles, Gypsies, and other people in occupied Europe. Handout F-5.3 provides primary source materials related specifically to the actions taken by Pope Pius XII. The other handouts describe the heroic efforts of other church leaders.

After students read the material included in this section, ask them to refer to the positions taken by the historians in Handouts F-5.1 and F-5.2 (Pawlikowski, Rhodes, Dawidowicz, and Pilch). Ask students to formulate their own generalizations concerning the actions taken or not taken by the leaders and followers of the major religions.

For students who wish to study this topic further, have them consult the following additional sources:

Robert A. Graham, S.J. *Pius XII's Defense of Jews and Others: 1944-1945* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, ND).

Pinchas E. Lapide. *Three Popes and the Jews* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967).

Guenter Lewy. *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

John F. Morley. *Vatican Diplomacy and the Jews During the Holocaust, 1939-1943* (New York: Ktav, 1980).

- National responses varied tremendously from nation to nation, but by and large these responses were inadequate and frequently indifferent to the desperate plight of the Jews. Have students analyze the statistics and readings presented in Handout F-6 and then make some judgments based upon this evidence. Students should compare the information on the bar graph in Handout F-6.3 with the number of people killed by the Nazis, Handouts D-14 and E-3.1 and 3.2 in Unit III. Students

should also note that between 1938 and 1941, approximately 212,000 refugees might have entered the United States. In addition, on this topic, have students consult:

- Henry L. Feingold. *The Politics of Rescue* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1970).
- Martin Gilbert. *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982).
- Ruth Gruber. *Haven: The Unknown Story of FDR and 1000 World War II Refugees* (New York: Putnam Publishing Group, 1983). This book tells the story of the refugee center established at Oswego, New York, in 1944.
- Arthur D. Morse. *While Six Million Died* (New York: Random House, 1967).
- David S. Wyman. *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis, 1938-1941* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1968).

After students have read the handout materials, have them consider the following questions:

- When did the nations of the West first become aware and then convinced that the Reich meant to liquidate Europe's Jews? (Refer to Handout D- 6, Document F.)
- How committed were the nations of the West to a massive rescue of Jewish refugees? Why?
- What role did anti-Semitism play in national responses?
- How was denial of reality a factor in the United States government's response to Nazi extermination policies? Have students refer to the report made by Jan Karski to President Roosevelt and the Jewish and non-Jewish groups in the United States. See: Jan Karski. *Story of a Secret State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944), chapter 33.
- Students often ask what actions Jews living in

the United States took to save the lives of European Jews. This difficult historical question American Jews did everything possible to save

lives. The handout included in F- 7 focuses on this important issue. Ask students to read the material and then to take a position on the question, did American Jews do enough? Be sure that students support their positions with facts taken from the reading.

For more information on this topic, interested students might consult the final report of the American Jewish Commission on the Holocaust, Arthur J. Goldberg, chairman. They might also consult those books listed for use with Handout F-6.

- For information about the efforts of Jews to save Jewish lives in Europe, have students consult, *Heroine of Rescue* by Joseph Friedenson and David Kranzler. This book deals with the work of HIJEFS (a Jewish rescue organization based in Switzerland) and the Relief Association for Jewish Refugees in Foreign Lands. It focuses on the work of one woman, Recha Sternbuch, who was instrumental in saving thousands of Jewish lives. Working with the Papal Nuncio and a former president of Switzerland, she carried out numerous rescue schemes.

HANDOUT F-1.1

THEIR BROTHERS' KEEPERS

Philip Friedman

The vast area of Europe seized and held by the Nazis and their accomplices during World War II contained approximately 8,300,000 Jews. It is estimated that 6,000,000 perished by Nazi lethal devices, disease, or starvation. Considering that Hitler mobilized all of Germany's resources for the avowed purpose of annihilating the Jews, and that in this work he found helpers and collaborators among the native population in almost all Nazi-occupied countries, it is indeed a miracle that more than 2,000,000 remained alive. Those surviving were saved by flight, emigration, or evacuation before the arrival of the Germans and the changeable fortunes of war. But at least a million Jews survived in the very crucible of the Nazi hell, the occupied areas.

How this million survived is the theme of our story. These candidates for the Nazi crematoria could not have lived to witness the collapse of the Reich that was to endure a thousand years if they had relied on their own resources. The miracle could not have been accomplished without the active assistance of the Christian population.

We will never know how many of the approximately 300,000,000 Europeans who lived briefly under the Nazi heel helped Jews. It is not the number that matters. What matters is that a small army of valorous men and women opened their hearts and their homes to a people marked for extinction, defying the invader and death itself....

Taken from: Philip Friedman. *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), pp. 13-19. Used by permission of the Holocaust Library, New York, NY.

In European countries occupied or dominated by Germany, the reaction to anti-Semitic laws and the policy of extermination varied considerably. Many factors were responsible for this. First, there were the conditions prevailing in the individual countries before the Nazi assault. Some countries — the Western and Scandinavian — had a long history of liberal and democratic traditions so that the general population tended to be sympathetic to countrymen of Jewish origin. Similarly, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, and the Czechs tried to help the Jews. In other countries, particularly in Eastern Europe, where centuries of serfdom, drudgery, and oppression by foreign occupying powers gave root to exaggerated nationalistic feeling, xenophobia, and hatred, the general population was least likely to risk Nazi displeasure. Here only a small, though significant, minority dared to help the Jews or even to manifest feelings of sympathy for the persecuted. In all countries, large groups of people were neutral or just indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow citizens of Jewish origin. In some countries, passive humanitarians — those who were sympathetic but too afraid to dare to express their opinions or to help the Jews — constituted a large group of the population. Considering this background, one must regard the gallant few whose bravery rescued so many of the doomed as even greater heroes.

Hiding a Jew was not an easy matter. It required more than willingness, courage, and readiness to imperil the lives of one's family; a proper place was necessary, an ability to camouflage the hide-out, contact with like-minded individuals who would risk taking the Jew in the event of an imminent raid. Experience had taught the host as well as the one in hiding that movement of and frequent changes in hiding places were essential for survival. Thus, the saving of one Jew or a whole family often involved the co-operation of many

Christians. Frequently a Jewish family was divided among several hosts. Hiding a large family or a group of Jews in a private home, particularly in urban areas, almost inevitably ended in disaster. (Note: On October 15, 1941, Hans Frank, Nazi-Governor of Poland, decreed the death penalty for anyone aiding Jews.) Sizable groups found shelter in monasteries, convents, mountain hide-outs, or bunkers in the woods; they fared less well in cities or even small towns. It was difficult to buy provisions for those in hiding; tongues would begin to wag, neighbors grow suspicious. In the large cities it was possible to buy small quantities of food in scattered black-market centers and thus avoid arousing suspicion, but in smaller localities this technique was difficult to apply. Many homes did not have inside toilets, and so there was the problem of disposing of refuse. A great deal of ingenuity was required when a "guest" became ill or died, or when a pregnant woman was about to give birth. The presence of small children increased the danger of being found out. Sleeping pills were used liberally to keep children from crying excessively.

The building and arrangement of hiding places became an art. People built double walls and hanging ceilings behind which Jews sometimes lived for years....

Hiding places were often so cramped that the Jews inside took turns lying down. Some places were so crowded those in hiding were forced to stand immobile for hours, and were permitted to exercise their limbs only in the dark of night when their host let them out for a brief period....

The Gestapo was constantly on the alert for the thousands of Jews who seemed to burrow into the ground like moles. Among their allies were collaborationists, professional informers, anti-Semites, drunks, and prattlers. To anyone turning in a Jew, the Gestapo usually paid one quart of brandy, four pounds of sugar, and a carton of

HANDOUT F-1.1 (cont.)

cigarettes, or a small amount of money. Incidentally, the prices varied at different places and or hanged in a public place as an object on the spot, "Aryans" who entertained the notion of hiding a Jew....

On occasion, Jewish guests, fearful of the consequences to their hosts if they were caught, left the places of safety of their own free will, often to commit suicide. "We are trailed and hunted," wrote Francisca Rubinlicht of Warsaw. "We can no longer find a place to hide. Our money is gone. We cannot stay here any longer because we have been threatened with being reported to the Gestapo. If this happens, our protectors will suffer as well. We cannot commit suicide in this place because our protector will be victimized. So we have decided," the note goes on to say, "to surrender, in the knowledge that we can swallow the (suicide) pills that now constitute our only, our priceless possession."

The good, generous, and godly people who hid Jews feared not only the wrath of the Nazis; they also had to contend with anti-Semites among the local population, and terror organizations that preached the gospel of hatred even after the war. There are numerous recorded instances concerning Poles who gave protection to their Jewish countrymen and later were shot by terrorist groups. Andrzej Kowalski of Parczew, Poland, who had concealed six Jewish families without remuneration during the war, was forced by anti-Semites to leave his home and settle elsewhere. Two Polish families of Bialystok who had put their lives in peril by helping Jews during the Occupation were forced by their neighbors to look elsewhere for home and sustenance. They left for West Germany, and then were helped by the Jewish Labor Committee to emigrate to the United States....

HANDOUT F-1.2

JEWISH-GENTILE RELATIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE

Yehuda Bauer

Obviously, the relationships affecting that major concentration of the Jews in Europe, namely, Polish Jewry, are of central importance in a brief examination of the rescue problem. The attitude of the surrounding Polish population was an important determining factor in the fate of the Jews.⁶

The accusation of Jewish-Soviet cooperation in Eastern Polish areas occupied by the Soviets in 1939 was leveled by the Poles throughout the war. There was some truth to this. Soviet occupation was better than Nazi rule, and the Soviets abolished the restrictions that had prevented Jews in Poland from entering universities, the administration, and some trades. However, the fact that Jewish attitudes changed as the Soviets restricted religious life, abolished all Jewish institutions, and confiscated property, was ignored by Polish public opinion. According to Polish figures, 264,000 Jews were deported into Soviet exile or Soviet camps, or between 17 and 20 percent of the Jews in Soviet-occupied Eastern Poland. During the war itself, in the absence of any substantial help extended by Poles or Ukrainians, the Soviet army and the return of the Soviet regime were seen by the Jews as the only hope for rescue. Jewish forest and ghetto fighters sought aid from the Soviets. The Poles, who feared Soviet rule no less than they hated the Nazi conquerors, could not identify with the Jewish attitude.

Taken from: Yehuda Bauer. *A History of the Holocaust* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1982), pp. 284-286. Used by permission of Franklin Watts, Inc.

⁶ For a sociological discussion of this factor, see Helen Fein, *Accounting for Genocide* (New York, 1979).

By involving the Poles in the looting of Jewish apartments and property, such as furniture and clothing, the Nazis created a situation in which the Poles hoped the Jews would not return. In some cases, Jewish property was handed over to

Polish families for safe-keeping. Although some property was protected, other items were appropriated by Poles who had no wish to see the Jews return to claim them. In his detailed account of this situation, Ringelblum recorded the remarks of people who said that Hitler at least, as disastrous as he was, had dealt with the Jewish question and solved it.⁷

• • •

The Polish attitude toward the Jews can be understood within the context of the Nazi attitude toward Poland. Three million Poles were murdered by the Nazis during the course of the war, by methods best defined as selective genocide. The Polish intelligentsia, the Catholic priesthood – especially in Western Poland – and a large peasant population fell victim to the Nazi desire to eliminate the proud Polish nation. In contrast to other European nations, practically no political figures in Poland cooperated politically with the Nazis.

Although antisemitism was widespread and help to Jews was not common, the populations of various areas reacted differently. In Volhynia, in eastern Poland, for example, where the Poles themselves were a persecuted minority among Ukrainians there was a willingness to help the Jews. In the Lublin area and in Krakow, Poles were more willing to hide Jews than elsewhere.

⁷ Emmanuel Ringelblum, *Polish-Jewish Relations During the Second World War*, ed. J. Kermisz and S. Krakowski (New York, 1976), pp. 182-85.

Among the Catholic clergy, Cardinal Archbishop of Lwow, Count Andreas Szeptycki, ordered his clergy to save Jews, as did the Ursuline sisters and some village priests. In Warsaw in 1942-43 thousands found hiding places among Polish

neighbors – both working-class people and professionals – who risked their lives. A total of perhaps slightly more than 1 percent of the Jewish population successfully hid in the Polish ethnic area. There were heavy penalties for hiding Jews: in many cases, partly because entire families were killed and their property burned when it was discovered that they had hidden Jews.

In October 1942, Henryk Wolinski, a Polish liberal, organized a group called Zegota, under the auspices of the Polish underground, which was loyal to the London government-in-exile. Using about 1 percent of the funds transmitted from London to Poland for the use of the underground, Zegota was able to save some 4,000 children and adults in Warsaw and, to a degree, in Krakow. Zegota included in its ranks such Catholic liberals as Wladyslaw Bartoszewski⁸ as well as Jewish underground leaders; its secretary was Adolf Berman, a member of the Jewish National Committee. . . .

⁸ Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, *The Righteous Among the Nations* (London, 1969).

HANDOUT F-1.3

EXTRACT FROM A POLISH WOMAN'S DIARY IN WARSAW

June 17, 1941

...When they both had left the house, Henryk stole out through the window in order not to have to cross the yard.... He returned the same way from the barber's, but a *Volksdeutsche*² woman called Podgorska watched Henryk from an upper balcony as he stole in and out. As it turned out later, she had long suspected Teresa of harboring a Jew. She ran at once to the Gendarmerie post and within a few minutes the house was surrounded. The Gendarmes broke open the door and found only Henryk. They beat him but he said nothing. He pretended he was mute. They waited for the owner of the apartment.

The occupants of the house decided to warn Teresa with the help of their children. When she learned what had happened she returned home instead of escaping. It had seemed that she was an ordinary and rather empty-headed person, but she proved to be a courageous girl. It had seemed to her that if she gave evidence that she had known Henryk for a number of years and believed him to be an "Aryan" she would be able to save him. She did not think about herself. When she entered, Henryk, who was bleeding badly, gave her to understand that he had said nothing. An investigation was begun to find out who he was and why he did not speak. She explained: "He must have been frightened." She also explained that she had known him for two years

Taken from: Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, editors. *He Is My Fellow Countryman: Polish Assistance to the Jews*. Cracow, 1969, pp. 589-590. Used by permission.

¹ Sabina Dlugiewski

² *Volksdeutsche* means German national(s) living outside Germany.

...hat he was a Pole. She was asked why he climbed out through the window, and she replied that they had agreed that he would do so if she was not at home. One of the Germans gave an order, without hesitating, to examine Henryk in a brutal manner in Teresa's presence. They were both taken away. Henryk was killed. Teresa was saved with great effort by *Volksdeutsche* relations who had connections. She was sent to a concentration camp.

HANDOUT F-2

HELGA'S DILEMMA

Helga and Rachel had grown up together. They were best friends despite the fact that Helga's family was Christian and Rachel's was Jewish. For many years, this religious difference didn't seem to matter much in Germany, but after Hitler seized power the situation changed. Hitler required Jews to wear armbands with the Star of David on them. He began to encourage his followers to destroy the property of Jewish people and to beat them on the street. Finally, he began to arrest Jews and deport them. Rumors went around the city that many Jews were being killed. Hiding Jews for whom the Gestapo (Hitler's secret police) was looking was a serious crime and violated the law of the German government.

One night, Helga heard a knock at the door. When she opened it, she found Rachel on the step huddled in a dark coat. Quickly Rachel stepped inside. She had been to a meeting, she said, and when she returned home she had found the Gestapo members all around her house. Her parents and brothers had already been taken away. Knowing her fate if the Gestapo caught her, Rachel ran to her old friend's house.

Now what should Helga do? If she turned Rachel away, the Gestapo would eventually find her. Helga knew that most of the Jews who were sent away had been killed and she didn't want her best friend to share that fate. But hiding the Jews broke the law. Helga would risk her own security and that of her family if she tried to hide Rachel. But she had a tiny room behind the chimney on the third floor where Rachel might be safe.

QUESTION: Should Helga hide Rachel?

Taken from: Edwin Fenton, John Good, Linda Rosenzweig, and George Gregory. *Teacher's Guide for the Shaping of Western Society: An Inquiry Approach*. 1974, pp. 183-185. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc.

HANDOUT F-3.1

AVENUE OF THE JUST: A TRIBUTE TO CHRISTIAN HEROISM

Anti-Defamation League

There were human roadblocks on the avenue to death. Christians, unorganized, using only their wits, concealing their efforts from neighbors, running the risk of death, dying, if need be. There were men and women, small in number, who were ready to sacrifice for others, who could not abide the genocide. The victims they fought to save, were being gathered up like cattle – labor leaders, gypsies, liberals, social democrats, Jehovah's Witnesses, and a very special target, the Jews. Preoccupied in the war against Nazism and Fascism, Western Civilization did not move to end the slaughter of the innocent, nor did the ordinary man in the street rise up in large numbers in revolutionary fury to stop the mass murder. But an effort was made by a precious few who are always there and always will be.

Some of the circumstances and participants were:

Jacob Kalma, Dutch Reformed Pastor. Pastor Kalma spent five years in the underground finding hiding places for hundreds of Nazi victims.

Germaine Belline. Not far from southern Holland, is the Belgian town of La Louvier, an industrial suburb of Brussels. There, in a city that lived under Hitler's occupation for five years, a small brave rescue network once operated. Its cobblestoned streets remember the march of jack boots, and whispering Nazi collaborators. Led by town council members, a small band of ordinary people engaged in the dangerous task of hiding Jews.

Taken from: Anti-Defamation League. Script from *Avenue of the Just: A Tribute to Christian Heroism*. Reprinted by permission of Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Before it was over, every municipal official who had lent a hand was dragged off to the death camps. But they were the kind who preferred such a fate to passiveness in the face of enormous crime.

Germaine Belline and her husband, he away in the service, lived above their tailor shop with a son and their teenage daughter, Lilliane. Mrs. Belline first became involved because of two Jewish families with whom she'd grown up. Belline arranged for them to re-settle, under assumed names, in a nearby town. Word travelled fast in the underground, and soon she was trafficking in human cargo, whatever Jews were sent her way.

Eva Hermann and her husband, a Physics professor, lived in Mannheim surrounded by friends: professional people, musicians, writers, artists, Christians, Jews. When the deportations began and the transit camps in south France opened, the Hermanns embarked on their rescue roll, smuggling Jews away. Some Jews refused their help, lest the Hermanns be caught and made to suffer for them. But they were caught, found guilty of course – for her husband, eight years in prison, for Mrs. Hermann three.

Gertrude Luckner, Catholic pacifist. Received her doctorate at Freiburg in the thirties where she lectured on Pacifism and made Jewish friends, smelled Nazism early and hated it. By 1933, a courier for trapped Jews, travelling Germany, carrying messages, warning about deportations, helping victims across the border, running an intelligence network for Rabbi Leo Baeck of Berlin. In March, 1943, seized by the Gestapo, tortured for three weeks, thrown into the camp at Ravensbruck, found miraculously alive at the war's end.

Alex Roslan, Polish Christian, witnessed the chaos, saw the cholera, the typhus, the bloated bodies, the stinking corpses, and he wept and re-

belled. Grabbed up three little boys to hide, feed and cared for them. When they were hungry, took bread from his own children to give it to Yacov, Shalom, and David. Every moment was risk worth his life. Sewed them into his furniture to move them away from suspicious neighbors and Gestapo searchers.

It was important to save children, they'd be the future. And the precious few who cared, worked hard at it, rescuing many young people. But among those they lost, was a warm, witty, intelligent, little Dutch girl, Anne Frank. Amsterdam was her city. Anne Frank, who is dead now; yet who remains a pervasive presence in a city of canals and small boats, of wooden shoes and bicycles, of canal houses. And a Dutch people who, along with the Danes and the Norwegians, showed better than most Europeans. A Dutch people who hid families in their tiny attics and dark cellars, ever mindful that among them moved Nazi collaborators ready to sell out their own countrymen for a pittance. Anne's father, Otto Frank, now eighty-nine, lives quietly in Basle. He is still defiantly erect despite the heavy burden of memories. He lives surrounded by reminders of his two secret years in the building behind his canal house office, ever aware his was a scheme that failed, ending in death. Mr. Frank goes over it again, and again – How could that frightened little group he had selected for hiding along with have been saved? His own wife and two daughters, another couple with a young son, and a bachelor dentist. One thing he does know, Anne's affirmation of life, evident in every line of her Diary, is a complete answer to the nihilism of Nazism.

(Editor's Note: Otto Frank died at the age of 91 in 1980.)

HANDOUT F-3.2

RIGHTEOUS GENTILE: RAOUL WALLENBERG

John Bierman

Yad Vashem, the Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority – a complex of buildings, gardens, avenues, and piazzas on a flat hilltop on the western outskirts of Jerusalem – was established by Act of Parliament of the State of Israel in 1953 to commemorate the 6 million Jewish victims of the Nazi Holocaust. It is at once a memorial, museum, library, and archive, and a centre for study and research into one of history's most terrifying and inexplicable recent phenomena: the attempted destruction of an entire people by an apparently civilized nation.

Despite the horrors that Yad Vashem conjures up, it is not an entirely dispiriting place. The planners, architects, landscape gardeners, and exhibition designers who put this complex together have created a harmonious and skilfully understated overall impression. Climate and topography also help to keep the shadows at a tolerable distance. The wooded hilltop, known as the Mount of Remembrance, looks over what is still one of the world's loveliest cities – despite the disruption of its skyline by high-rise blocks. The unpolluted air is brilliantly clear, the sky is invariably blue, and the scent of pine is all-pervading.

One of the features of Yad Vashem is an avenue of long-living, evergreen carob trees through which one walks to reach the Holocaust Museum and the stark piazza which commemorates the heroism and martyrdom of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

Taken from: John Bierman, *Righteous Gentile: The Story of Raoul Wallenberg, Missing Hero of the Holocaust* (New York: The Viking Press, 1981), pp. vii-ix. Copyright (c) 1981 by John Bierman. Reprinted by permission of Viking Penguin, Inc. Any reproductions of this material must be for classroom use only.

This is called the Allee des Justes, the Avenue of the Righteous, and each tree in it has been planted to commemorate a Gentile who risked his or her life to save a Jew or Jews from death during the Hitler years. At the time of writing, some six hundred trees have already been planted in the avenue and in an "overflow" area of terraced hillside beyond the piazza. Two thousand more cases are awaiting consideration by a special committee that is headed by an Israeli Supreme Court justice. This committee's function is to study written and oral evidence about all individuals, many of them now dead, who may qualify for the title of "Righteous Gentile." In each confirmed case, a tree will be planted in the name of the individual concerned and a medal and certificate presented to him or his representative. The medal bears a Talmudic inscription: "Whoever saves a single soul, it is as if he had saved the whole world."

If the Jewish people's accusation that the world stood by and did nothing while they were slaughtered is substantially true – certainly as far as governments and organizations were concerned – those six hundred carob trees, and the many hundreds more that will join them on their sunlit hilltop, are a reminder that individuals can rise above the regimes which represent them and that compassion and courage may be more common qualities among "ordinary" people than the dismal record of "world leaders" allows us to believe. It should not be forgotten that the Nazis' punishment for those who helped Jews was generally that they, and often their families, should suffer a similar fate.

Though marked only by a small plaque bearing the name and nationality of the honoured individual, every tree has its story in the Yad Vashem archives.

Those trees speak for all those who, as a former Speaker of Israel's Parliament has put it, "saved

not only the Jews but the honour of Man." Of none is this more true than of a relatively unknown Swede, Raoul Wallenberg. Although the authorities of Yad Vashem establish no order or precedence they will readily concede that, without question, he is first among the righteous.

Attorney Gideon Hausner, chairman of Yad Vashem and the man who prosecuted Adolf Eichmann, expresses the special significance of Raoul Wallenberg:

"Here is a man who had the choice of remaining in secure, neutral Sweden when Nazism was ruling Europe. Instead, he left this haven and went to what was then one of the most perilous places in Europe, Hungary. And for what? To save Jews.

"He won his battle and I feel that in this age when there is so little to believe in – so very little on which our young people can pin their hopes and ideals – he is a person to show to the world, which knows so little about him. That is why I believe the story of Raoul Wallenberg should be told and his figure, in all its true proportions, projected into human minds."

Dr. Hausner, whose preparation and prosecution of the state of Israel's case against Eichmann in 1961 caused him to study in great detail every aspect of the evolution and execution of Hitler's Final Solution, credits Wallenberg with having saved the lives of thirty thousand Jews in Budapest. He may underestimate. Some competent and guarded witnesses put the number who, directly or indirectly, owe their lives to Wallenberg at up to a hundred thousand. But whether it be thirty thousand, a hundred thousand, or somewhere in between, Wallenberg must surely rank as the outstanding unsung hero of World War II: while others were performing acts of valour on the battlefield, taking life, Wallenberg was daily exposing himself to enormous risk, preserving life. That, however, is only part of his story.

HANDOUT F-3.2 (cont.)

Having accomplished his mission with such success, Wallenberg was arrested by the Soviet "liberators" of Budapest and thrown into the Soviet prison system — Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* — from which he has never emerged. What is more, there is a disturbing body of evidence to suggest that he may still be alive, somewhere out there in the Gulag, thirty-six years after his disappearance, twenty-four years after the Russians officially announced his death.

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RAOUL WALLENBERG

Elenore Lester and Frederick E. Werbell

Toward the end of the war, the Allies could no longer ignore the irrefutable evidence of Auschwitz. There were a number of last-minute plans to rescue the remaining Jews of Europe. The idea of bombing the railroad lines that led to Auschwitz and the crematories was rejected because, according to the Allies, military resources could better be employed elsewhere. Exploring another route, Herschel Johnson, United States Ambassador to Sweden, and Iver Olsen, director of the War Refugee Board in Sweden, asked the neutral Swedes if they would send someone on a rescue mission.

The Swedes agreed and Wallenberg was selected because he spoke German like a German and knew Budapest well. He had no diplomatic training, but he had a broad education in the United States and Europe.

Taken from: Elenore Lester and Frederick E. Werbell. "The Lost Hero of the Holocaust — The Search for Sweden's Raoul Wallenberg," *New York Times Magazine*, March 30, 1980, pp. 21-39. Copyright (c) 1980 by the New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

Wallenberg was told that whatever money he needed would be made available. At first, he planned to go in August. However, when he read Swedish Foreign Ministry reports of the deportation trains and other horrors, he decided to leave at once. According to Nina Lagergren, he asked his superiors in the Foreign Ministry for *carte blanche* to use whatever methods he found necessary.

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In 1944, Wallenberg became the counterforce to Eichmann in Budapest.

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Wallenberg had pulled together a staff of some 400, nearly all Jews, to give out passports, gather information, distribute supplies and protect the 32 safe houses he had set up on the Pest side of the Danube, where most of the city's Jews lived — plus special shelters housing 8,000 children. What is more, Wallenberg issued passports wholesale. Theoretically, these papers indicated that the holders were about to be admitted to the issuing countries; passport holders were deemed to be under the protection of the issuing countries and therefore exempt from deportation....

It was Wallenberg's shrewdness, courage and dedication that allowed him to succeed as much as he did. His role was twofold. He had to give terrified Jews the feeling that they could save themselves; and he had to deal with the Nazis, at times winning secret friends among them, and at other times confronting them with threats as to what would happen to them after the war. He could when necessary confront Nazis head on with a blaze of moral authority....

Wallenberg turned up along the route of death marches with his large car and his driver. The impact of his presence was described recently by Susan Tabor, a librarian at the Hebrew Union College.

"He gave us the sense that we were still human beings," she said. "My mother and I were among thousands taken one night to stay at a brick factory outside Budapest. There was no food, no water, no sanitation facilities, no light. Then Wallenberg appeared and said he would try to return with passports, or 'safety passes,' as we called them, and would also try to get medical attention and sanitation facilities. Soon afterward, some doctors and nurses came from the Jewish Hospital."

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By January 1945, Sweden's Raoul Wallenberg had distributed Swedish passports to at least 20,000 Budapest Jews and he had sheltered 13,000 of them in "safe" houses, which had been rented by Wallenberg and which flew the Swedish flag. These 20,000 Jews thus came under the protection of the Swedish Government and most were spared the massacre that engulfed 90,000 other Budapest Jews.

In carrying out his rescue operation, Wallenberg cared little for his own safety and yet seemed immune to harm by the Germans. He stood on top of a deportation train handing out Swedish papers to all the hands that could reach them, then insisted that the people holding them be allowed off the train. With his own hands, he pulled people out of "death marches" to the Austrian border or brought them bread, soup, and medical supplies in the middle of the night when he had no more passports to give out.

HANDOUT F-3.2 (cont.)

Wallenberg did not look like a hero. His manner was subdued and businesslike, his face sensitive, his voice usually soft. Unlike the tall, blond Swedes at the embassy, he was of medium height, dark-eyed and his dark hair was thinning.

If the Germans never stopped Wallenberg, the Russians apparently did. They were immediately suspicious of him. They knew of his capitalist family background. They wondered about his apparently charmed life under – and his influence with – the Nazis. They wondered, too, about who furnished the large sums of money he used in his rescue operation. And finally, they wondered whether he might be an American spy.

On January 17, 1945, three and a half weeks after the Russians entered Budapest on Christmas Eve, Wallenberg and his driver, Vilmos Langfelder, and two Russian officers set out for Debrecen, some 120 miles east of Budapest. Wallenberg wanted to get the Russians help in dealing with the Arrow Cross gangs. Neither he nor his driver ever returned.

HANDOUT F-3.3

OTHERS AMONG THE RIGHTEOUS

Tibor Baranski

Tibor Baranski, a Hungarian, volunteered when asked by the Papal Nuncio, Father Angelo Rotta, to help save the Jews in the fall of 1944. At the age of 22, he worked tirelessly and often at the risk of his own life to save as many as he could, distributing Vatican protection papers to whomever he was able. In his underground work, by the help of God and heroic helpers, Baranski is responsible for saving 5,000 to 8,000 Jewish lives. He was the Vatican Representative and chaired the strategy meetings in which the representative of the Swedish Crown, Raoul Wallenberg, took part. Mr. Baranski was given the title Righteous Gentile and has served on the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, chaired by Elie Wiesel.

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Wladyslaw Bartoszewski

Wladyslaw Bartoszewski was born in Warsaw in 1922. During World War II, he was a founder of the Polish Underground and organized a secret committee, made up largely of Catholics, to save Jews from deportation and destruction by the Nazis.

Bartoszewski was taken prisoner in 1940 and sent to Auschwitz. Upon his release in 1941, he helped organize the Warsaw Uprising and has since emerged as the chief historian of this event. After what he saw in Auschwitz, Bartoszewski

Adapted from: Shoshana M. Ra'Anan. "Witness to Heroism," *Jerusalem Post*, October 10, 1983. Reprinted with permission from *The Jerusalem Post*.

decided that the most important task was to help the victims of Nazism.

He began by helping to provide false papers for some of the 10,000 Jews living on the "Aryan" side of the Warsaw Ghetto wall. In addition to identity papers and ration cards, the most urgent need was for a safe roof over their heads. Bartoszewski was the contact man between Poles and Jews on one side, and two remarkable women, sought by the Gestapo for their anti-Nazi actions and their humanitarian aid to ghetto refugees: Zofia Kossak-Szatowska, a well-known Catholic writer, who was living illegally in Warsaw, and Wanda Krahelska-Filipowicz.

These two women conducted a secret campaign to save ghetto refugees, particularly women and children. They did so with great dedication, and greeted, with joy, every person who dared to take part in their work. Bartoszewski took on the task of transmitting documents and money, and whenever necessary, warnings.

It was in August 1942 that a secret Catholic organization, Front for the Rebirth of Poland, put out 5,000 copies of a flyer entitled "Protest." It was written by Zofia Kossak-Szatowska, mentioned here for her campaign to save Jews. In the flyer, she appealed to the hearts and consciences of all Poles who believe in God, as well as to those who until then were not well-disposed to Jews, to take an unequivocal moral position *vis-a-vis* the crime:

"...The world looks upon this crime, more horrible than anything history has so far known, and is silent. Millions of helpless people are being slaughtered amid this general silence.... England and America do not raise their voices, even the influential international Jewish community is silent. And the Poles are silent.... We cannot undertake anything actively against the German tortures, we cannot help, cannot save anyone but we protest from the depths of our hearts... we are

seized by compassion, indignation and horror. God demands this protest from us."

In the fall of 1942, a number of underground organizations joined together in an illegal effort to save Jewish lives. Bartoszewski participated in its creation. In December 1942, the group constituted itself formally under the name **Rada Pomocy Zydom** (Council for Aid to Jews).

Wladyslaw Bartoszewski has been honored as a "Righteous Gentile" by Yad Vashem for his heroism in saving Jewish lives during the Nazi Holocaust.

Jan Karski

In June 1982, Jan Karski was honored as a "Righteous Gentile" in a ceremony held at Yad Vashem. He was recognized for his wartime efforts as a member of the Polish underground and as an envoy of the Polish foreign service and Jewish fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto.

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FREE WORLD LEADERS KNEW OF HOLOCAUST IN 1943

Hon. Stephen J. Solarz
of New York

in the House of Representatives
Tuesday, December 15, 1981

Mr. Solarz, Mr. Speaker, recently a significant and deeply moving conference was held at the State Department. Organized by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and chaired by the Honorable Elie Wiesel, the International Liberators Conference, October 26-28, was to commemorate the suffering and sacrifice of those who perished

Taken from: *Congressional Record. Extension of Remarks*. December 15, 1981. E 5846.

HANDOUT F-3.3 (cont.)

in the Nazi concentration camps during World War II, and the liberation of those who survived....

Conference participants came from many lands, including both those who liberated the camps, and those victims of the Nazi terror who still lived. I had the opportunity to attend the Conference and I shall not try to relate here my own reactions. Suffice it to say that the Conference was unique in my experience.

However, I do wish to call to the attention of my colleagues one exceptionally important speech which was delivered at the Conference. The subject under discussion was: "Discovering the 'Final Solution'." In other words, when did the Free World first find out about Nazi plans and actions designed to exterminate the Jews? Was it only after the war had ended, when Allied troops liberated the concentration camps? Or had it been possible for those suffering under Nazi oppression to send out word of the Holocaust even while the war was under way? And if the free world leaders learned of the Holocaust during the war, what action did they take? One speaker was uniquely qualified to answer that question, Dr. Jan Karski, a hero of the Polish underground, a secret emissary to the West, and today a professor at Georgetown University.

Dr. Karski was born in Poland. He entered the diplomatic service of his country, was mobilized in 1939, was taken prisoner by the Soviet Army. He escaped shortly thereafter, and joined the Polish anti-Nazi underground in German-occupied Poland. As an underground courier he made several secret trips to France, Great Britain, and America during the war. During these highly dangerous trips Dr. Karski carried messages and appeals not only from the Polish underground leadership, but also from two Jewish organiza-

tions, the Bund and the Zionists. He was authorized to speak for all those groups.

True to that trust he conveyed the desperate appeals and hopes of those he represented. He made clear the plight of the Jews, the terrible dangers which threatened them, and their specific recommendations for free world action on their behalf. Dr. Karski's report reveals some responded favorably to these appeals, and others, to their shame, did not. I will let Dr. Karski's words speak for themselves on that subject. But one thing comes through very clearly: by 1943 free world leaders had been informed of the Holocaust. They knew.

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JEW AND GENTILE

Yehuda Bauer

Allow me to end this chapter with a story. On my kibbutz there lives a man whom we shall call here Tolek. All he knows about himself is his name. He was born near Cracow, or in Cracow, prior to World War II, and he was three when the war broke out. He was in an orphanage, probably because his father had died and his mother could not support him. A Polish woman took this circumcized man-child to her home and raised him there during the Nazi occupation, in alliance with a Catholic parish priest. When the Nazis came searching Polish homes for hidden Jews, the woman used to hand over Tolek to the priest. Tolek still remembers how, at the age of five and six, he used to assist the priest at Mass, swinging the incense around, walking behind the priest

Taken from: Yehuda Bauer. *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1978), pp. 92-93. Reprinted by permission of the University of Washington Press.

through the church. They survived the war, and when liberation came, the woman took Tolek to a Jewish children's home and said, this is a Jewish child, I have kept him throughout the war, he belongs to your people, take him and look after him. Tolek does not know the name of the Polish woman, nor does he know the name of the priest. There are not very many such women, and there are not very many such priests, and therefore there are not a great many Toleks around. But there are some of each.

HANDOUT F-3.4

HOLOCAUST ALTRUISM

The story of the Holocaust is replete with examples of man's brutality and inhumanity to his fellow man. There are also examples, lesser known, of man's altruism and deep compassion, often in the face of grave personal risk. How did this "goodness" happen?

An international research project on the Study of the Altruistic Personality is being sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. A research effort by Professor Lawrence Baron is designed to study non-Jewish rescuers of Jewish victims during the period of the Holocaust, and by doing so, to understand the nature of altruism and altruistic behavior.

Interviews with rescuers, all private citizens living in the United States, Canada, and some European countries, revealed these different motivations:

- "We did it because it had to be done." (close family bonds; religious upbringing)
- Not out of love or compassion for the Jews but in defiance of the Germans, the enemy, who had invaded their homeland (patriotism)
- Some (16%) did it for the money they received from the people they hid. They still took a chance.

Most of the people interviewed did not want their names published because they did not consider themselves heroes.

Professor Baron, an associate professor at St. Lawrence University in Canton, NY, has detailed one example of altruism in *Haven from the Holocaust: Oswego, New York, 1944-1946*.

Adapted from: "Holocaust Altruism," *Jewish World*, Albany, NY, March 1984.

THE RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS 1939 - 1945

--- Frontiers of 1937

○ Numbers of 'righteous gentiles' honoured up to 1982 by the State of Israel for having helped individual Jews to escape deportation and death between 1939 and 1945.

0 200 miles
0 300 km



The single award for Norway was a collective one for the members of the Norwegian Resistance movement, all of whom helped Jews to escape. The Danish award included one which was made to the King in honour of the Danish nation.

On 19 August 1953 the Israeli Parliament passed a law making it the duty of the State of Israel to recognize the work done by non-Jews in saving Jewish lives during the war. An expression of honour was awarded, in the name of the Jewish people, to every non-Jewish person or family who had risked their lives to save Jews. Evidence of such action has to come initially from one of those who was actually saved; the evidence is then examined by a committee of eighteen judges and experts.

At the national Holocaust memorial, known as "Yad Vashem", in Jerusalem, an "avenue of the righteous" was begun 1962, where each non-Jew who is honoured plants a tree, or has a tree planted in his or her name. This map shows the number of "righteous gentiles" honoured between 1962, when the first tree was planted, and 31 July 1976. By late 1977, a further 1,500 cases were under examination, and new cases were coming forward every day.

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HANDOUT F-4.1

THE FATE OF THE JEWS IN HITLER'S EUROPE: DENMARK

Lucy S. Dawidowicz

On April 9, 1940, Germany invaded neutral Denmark. Cecil von Renthe-Fink, German minister in Copenhagen, in demanding Denmark's capitulation without resistance, declared officially that Germany had no intention, then or in the future, of encroaching on Denmark's territorial integrity or political independence. Denmark accepted German occupation.

King Christian X remained on the throne and the Danish army, navy, and police remained undisturbed. A government appointed by the King and responsible to parliament continued to function, and parliament continued to exercise its legislative functions. In June 1940, Erik Scavenius, known for his pro-German sympathies, was appointed Foreign Minister and exercised considerable influence over ailing Prime Minister Thorvald Stauning. (After Stauning's death, Scavenius became Prime Minister in November 1942.) Notwithstanding various political concessions to the Germans, the Danes continued to maintain a democratic parliamentary government and an independent policy.

In fall 1942 Hitler changed his policy toward Denmark, intending to incorporate it into Germany. Leading German personnel in Denmark were changed; career diplomat Renthe-Fink was replaced by SS-Obergruppenfuehrer Karl Werner Best, acting as Reich Plenipotentiary. The new Wehrmacht commanding general planned to disband the Danish army and establish military rule in Denmark.

Taken from: *The War Against Jews* by Lucy S. Dawidowicz. Copyright (c) 1975 by Lucy S. Dawidowicz. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Publishers.

The Danes stiffened against German demands, and even Scavenius opposed German efforts to take over rule of Denmark. Sabotage and resistance within the country increased and reached their climax in August 1943. The German army then entered Copenhagen, disarmed the Danish army, imprisoned the King, and declared the Danish government dissolved. A state of emergency and martial law was declared. Though the emergency was officially lifted October 6, 1943, in effect conditions remained the same, with Danish sabotage and resistance intensifying against the Germans. In July 1944, with news of the attempted assassination on Hitler, general strikes swept Denmark. Until liberation, in May 1945, the Danes remained in a veritable state of war against the occupying Germans.

Jews in Prewar Denmark

About 8,000 Jews, .2 percent of the total population, lived in Denmark at the time of the German occupation. Some 6,500 were Danish Jews (including 1,300 offspring of mixed marriages), consisting of old Danish families and also of East European Jews who had settled in Denmark before and after World War I. About 1,500 were recent refugees from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. The old Jewish families had been thoroughly integrated into Danish social, political, and economic life. The later settlers brought with them Zionist and Jewish cultural concerns that helped to revivify Jewish communal life in Denmark. Anti-Semitism, despite extensive imports from Germany, was limited to small, extremist groups.

Jews in Wartime Denmark

Despite efforts by Himmler and other top Germans to convince the Danes that the Jews were an alien element, Jews remained under the protec-

tion of the Danish government. No anti-Jewish legislation was enacted and no Jewish property was expropriated. No Jews were ousted from government posts.

After Denmark came under martial law, Best tried to deport the Danish Jews. His plans, confided to a German shipping industrialist, were reported on September 28 to Danish Social Democratic leaders. The Germans had scheduled the roundup of the Jews for October 1, 1943, but in an extraordinary operation involving the whole Danish people and the agreement of the Swedish government, nearly all Danish Jews were hidden and then ferried across to Sweden, where they remained in safety until the end of the war. The Germans managed to round up some four hundred Jews, whom they sent to Theresienstadt.

The internment of the Danish Jews in Theresienstadt agitated the Danish government, which repeatedly requested permission to inspect the camp. In June 1944 such permission was granted, and the visit was made by delegates of the Danish Red Cross. As a consequence of persistent Danish interest in the deported Jews, none was sent to Auschwitz. At the end of the war, fifty-one had died in Theresienstadt of natural causes.

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HANDOUT F-4.2

RESCUE IN DENMARK

Harold Flender

On the morning of Friday, September 30, 1943, Rabbi Marcus Melchior stood before the Holy Ark of the 110-year-old Copenhagen Synagogue.

It was the day before Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year. About 150 members of the congregation were present. They were puzzled by the fact that Rabbi Melchior was not in his rabbinical robes.

"There will be no service this morning," said Rabbi Melchior. "Instead, I have very important news to tell you. Last night I received word that tomorrow the Germans plan to raid Jewish homes throughout Copenhagen to arrest all the Danish Jews for shipment to concentration camps. They know that tomorrow is Rosh Hashana and our families will be home. The situation is very serious. We must take action immediately. You must leave the synagogue now and contact all relatives, friends and neighbors you know are Jewish and tell them what I have told you. You must tell them to pass the word on to everyone they know is Jewish. You must also speak to all your Christian friends and tell them to warn the Jews. You must do this immediately, within the next few minutes, so that two or three hours from now everyone will know what is happening. By nightfall tonight we must all be in hiding."¹

Taken from: Harold Flender. *Rescue in Denmark* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1963), pp. 15, 155, 238-9, 254. Used by permission of Holocaust Publications, Inc.

¹ As told to the author by Rabbi Melchior and recorded by Rabbi Melchior in the author's documentary film "An Act of Faith," broadcast over the CBS Television Network, December 31, 1961.

MIRACLE OF THE EXODUS

Philip Friedman

How, then, were the Jews saved? As soon as the sobering news of the impending action against the Jews got around, a secret meeting of the Protestant higher clergy was convened in the home of the Bishop of Copenhagen, Fogelsang-Dagmar. With swift unanimity the clergymen present resolved to form an organization whose avowed purpose it was (1) to rescue Jews and (2) to rescue Jewish devotional objects such as Torah (Holy Writ) scrolls and other synagogue treasures. A group of young men belonging to the Danish Underground was empowered to break into the Great Synagogue of Copenhagen, whence they removed 100 scrolls and other precious objects, including prayer books. This sacred treasure was stored in the cellars of Protestant churches in Copenhagen. Soon after the raid, a pastoral letter issued by the Protestant Synod urged all clergymen to become active in the rescue of Jews.

A Pastor Gildeby who lived in Erslew, Jutland, where a Jew had never been seen, wrote an urgent letter to the Copenhagen rabbi, Dr. Marcus Melchior, inviting him and his family to take shelter with them. The rabbi, moved by the offer, cited the risks involved for the pastor and his family in inviting Jews to his home. Pastor Gildeby persisted, and Dr. Melchior came with his family to take shelter in the Jutland home. A special guard was organized to patrol the grounds outside the pastor's house. The townspeople, their curiosity checked by security regulations imposed by themselves, sent gifts and food parcels to Gildeby's house. The pastor's immediate superior, Bishop Flums, was given all the details of Gildeby's visitors. Incidentally, the

Taken from: Philip Friedman. *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), pp. 153-154. Used by permission of Holocaust Publications, Inc.

Bishop had a secret of his own; his palace was the headquarters of a rescue organization that ferried Jews to Sweden.

All over Denmark rescue groups, varying in size and effectiveness, sprang into action. Jews were escorted out of towns and taken to small villages near the sea, points of embarkation where they were hidden while they waited to be smuggled across to Sweden. The rescuers came from all walks of life; they were bishops, like Flums, farmers, businessmen, fishermen.

RESCUE IN DENMARK

Harold Flender

To help overcome the sudden rush of refugees, the Elsinore Sewing Club devised a scheme to get the Jews to Sweden by a means of transportation other than fishing vessels. An important ferry crossing for German railroad trains journeying between Denmark and Sweden was located in Elsinore. On the trip from Sweden, the trains were filled with iron ore and other important war materials, but on the way to Sweden they were generally empty. These empty trains were always locked, but there was enough of a wait at Elsinore before the trains were loaded onto the ferries for the Danes to open them and sneak Jewish refugees into them. Once in Sweden, the Jews would be given refuge by the Swedish authorities, who, it was hoped, because of their recently expressed sympathetic attitude toward the refugees, would keep their unique means of arrival a secret.

This method of transporting the Jews to Sweden succeeded for several weeks until a Swedish newspaper indiscreetly published a long, detailed article on the subject and the Gestapo put a special guard on all empty trains to Sweden. The operation had to be abandoned, and the Elsinore

HANDOUT F-4.2 (cont.)

Sewing Club was forced to fall back upon the fishermen.

• • •

In 1943 the Danish Ambassador to the United States was Henrik Kauffmann. When he first received word of the German plan to round up the Jews in Denmark, he was in Montreal at a breakfast meeting with the city's mayor. He immediately closeted himself in his room and began drafting a letter to Cordell Hull, the United States Secretary of State....

Sir:

According to press reports that have just reached this Legation, one of the first acts of the newly appointed military dictator in occupied Denmark was, on personal orders from Adolf Hitler, to start the deportation of the Danish Jews.

I greatly fear that very little can be done from here to come to the aid of these, my fellow citizens, in their hour of affliction. I want, however, to give you the assurance, Mr. Secretary, that any measures the American Government might deem feasible and appropriate to take in an attempt to afford protection to the Danish Jewish population, or to alleviate their fate and the threat against their lives, will have my full and unconditional support. As far as financial responsibilities may be involved, I undertake the guaranty towards your Government, or any other Government that may incur expenses in the effort to bring help to Danish Jews or other Danish nationals persecuted by the Nazis, to reimburse such expenses out of the Danish public funds under my control in this country. In making this declaration I know I am acting in line with the wish of the people of Denmark.

I should be grateful for an early opportunity to discuss with you, Sir, what it may be

possible to do in order to render assistance to my nationals and to protect them against the dangers threatening their existence.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration....

...Virtually all of the Danish refugees remember their return home as the most glorious day of their lives. The significance of this reception has been made clear by Rabbi Melchior: "The people of other countries have let their Jews go before, and, perhaps, they were happy to get rid of them, especially when Jewish homes, property and money were involved. In such cases, saying 'Goodbye' was easier than saying 'Welcome back.' But when we returned, our fellow Danes did say 'welcome back.' And how they said it — emotionally, with open arms and hearts. Our homes, our businesses, our property and money had been taken care of and returned to us. In most cases we found our homes newly painted, and there were flowers on the table. You cannot imagine how happy it made us feel to be back home. The welcome we received from the King, from everybody, is the most important event in Danish-Jewish history."

• • •

HANDOUT F-4.3

CHECKLIST OF FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE RESCUE OF DENMARK'S JEWS:

Rank each of the following items from 1-5 in terms of importance in saving Danish Jews. Use 1 to indicate little importance and 5 to indicate greatest importance. Locate information in Handouts F-4.1 and Handout F-4.2 to support your rankings.

- _____1. Geographic proximity to neutral Sweden
- _____2. Many in the German occupation force did not support Nazi racism. (Duckwitz, German head of shipping operations in Copenhagen, gave the Danes advanced warning of the Rosh Hashana round-up.)
- _____3. Protest: rescue operation perceived as a means to lash out at German occupation
- _____4. Adventure: often initial motivation among Denmark's youth
- _____5. Leadership: King and other authority figures set examples of resistance
- _____6. Close Jewish/Christian ties: large numbers of intermarriages and friendships
- _____7. Tradition: long tradition of democracy; no tradition of anti-Semitism

HANDOUT F-5.1

THE HOLOCAUST: FAILURE IN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP?

John T. Pawlikowski

By and large, the Christian scholars who have seriously studied the churches' stance during the Holocaust wind up with a reasonably critical evaluation of their Christian witnesses. They, of course, acknowledge the heroic efforts of righteous Gentiles, such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer. But, while these figures remain sources of Christian hope today, their miniscule number only serves to dramatize the general indifference to, and even cooperation with, the Nazi destruction of the Jewish people. Father Edward Flannery and Professor Franklin Littell are two such critical Christian voices. While recognizing the complexity of any investigation of the root causes of the Holocaust, Flannery clearly affirms that:

... in the final analysis, some degree of the charge (against the church) must be validated. Great or small, the apathy or silence was excessive. The fact remains that in the twentieth century of Christian civilization, a genocide of six million innocent people was perpetrated in countries with many centuries of Christian tradition and by hands that were in many cases Christian. This fact in itself stands, however vaguely, as an indictment of the Christian conscience. The absence of reaction by those most directly implicated in the genocide only aggravates this broader indictment.¹

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Excerpted from: *Genocide: Critical Issues of the Holocaust (A Companion to the Film GENOCIDE)* edited by Alex Grobman and Daniel Landes, (c) Copyright 1983 by the Simon Wiesenthal Center. Published by the Simon Wiesenthal Center and Rossel Books. Reprinted by permission.

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¹ Edward Flannery, "Anti-Zionism and the Christian Psyche," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 6 (Spring 1969): 174.

Concerned Christians like Littell and Flannery have bluntly challenged the churches for their part in the Final Solution. In the last decade, a growing number of Christian scholars, especially church historians, have tried to confront this issue in a more dispassionate, but equally serious, way. They have looked into the position of the churches in Germany as well as at the response of the international church. In the latter area, they have focused attention on the Vatican and Pope Pius XII.

None of the new generation of church historians dealing with the Holocaust in any way desires to whitewash the actions of Christian leaders. But a general consensus has also emerged that no simplistic blanket indictment of the churches will stand the test of historical evidence. Hence, we have slowly moved to a more balanced approach in the discussion of the Church Struggle from the situation several years ago, when unqualified accusations and equally uncritical defenses tended to predominate. There is also an additional caution that is now sounded by most Christian interpreters: Substantial archival materials still remain to be examined. Until many of these relevant church archives are made available by the churches themselves, the assessments of direct and indirect collaboration with the Nazi effort must remain open to future judgment. Furthermore, differences have emerged among those Christian scholars who have taken the Littell/Flannery challenge to heart. In part, these differences of opinion lie in disagreements as to how effective the churches could have been, even if their leaders had taken a much more outwardly hostile stance towards nazism.

One perspective that has gained acceptance from most church historians involved with this subject is that the Church struggle in Germany cannot be evaluated without some understanding of the prior half-century of that nation's his-

tory and the churches' reaction to it. This is true with respect to both the Protestant and Catholic communities, even though their social roles were somewhat different. The churches, more than any other major component of German society, had become conscious that their continuing social role could no longer be upheld by mere appeals to tradition. It was commonly believed by many Christian leaders that the loss of faith following the debacle of World War I could be counteracted only by a vigorous and vibrant engagement with the social order. The Weimar Republic, despite its constitution, which granted the churches greater self-rule in their internal affairs, was viewed more as a foe than as a friend. There was the need to preserve Christian society in a social setting where the state apparatus was indifferent or even hostile to religion.

• • •

Recent research has shown that well over three-quarters of the Protestant pastors in Germany supported right-wing political parties. The churches issued official condemnations of left-wing political options, isolating pastors with socialist leanings and excommunicating those who espoused communism. Church spokespersons became strongly nationalist in their language and frequently refused to support the "weak" and "antireligious" Weimar political leadership. As Professor Frederick O. Bonkovsky states:

... fearful of the threat from the left they welcomed the Nazis as a strong force which might be able to end economic and social chaos. As Niemöller stated after the Ruhr crisis, "we lacked leaders, we lacked a real goal, and above all, we lacked the inward and moral urge to national action."⁴

⁴ Frederick O. Bonkovsky, "The German State and Protestant Elites," in Littell and Locke, *The German Church Struggle*, p. 1933.

HANDOUT F-5.1 (cont.)

Like its Protestant counterpart, the Roman Catholic church was also afflicted with serious ambiguity during the Weimar Republic. Its psyche still bore the scars of Bismark's *Kulturkampf*, which attempted to throttle the Roman church's influence in the newly established German Empire. A feeling of second-class citizenship frequently pushed Catholics into an exaggerated display of national loyalty. It also provoked Catholic leaders to take legal steps to guarantee Catholic prerogatives through concordats with individual provinces and then, finally, with the Reich government itself in 1933.

• • •

... As John Conway indicates:

Like their Protestant counterparts, the Catholic leaders had no sympathy for a pluralistic society. They looked with favor on a movement that promised national renewal and restoration, and readily indulged in the wishful thinking that the more radical and revolutionary elements of the Nazi creed would be jettisoned once the accession to power brought with it an acceptance of responsibility.⁵

But both Catholic and Protestant leaders soon realized that their hopes for nazism were mistaken, and that a myriad of administrative decisions — rather than frontal attacks on religion — by the Reich government were undercutting the churches. Protests began to emerge, but were muted by fears that the bulk of the Christian faithful could not be counted upon in an all-out confrontation with the political authorities.⁶

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⁵ John S. Conway, "The Churches," in *The Holocaust*, eds. Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton (Millwood, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1980), p. 201.

⁶ See Gordon Zahn, "Catholic Resistance? A Yes and a No," in Littell and Locke, *The German Church Struggle*, p. 228.

One must also consider the cooperation and complexity of clerical involvement in the destruction of European Jews. An example is Slovakia, "a heavily Catholic country with a priest as president and prime minister who prided himself on being a practicing Catholic,"⁷ and who finally cooperated in the persecution of the Jews, leading to their deportation to the concentration camps. Before Passover in 1942, Rabbi Michael Dov-Ber Weissmandel, a leader of the Jewish underground, approached his old acquaintance Archbishop Kametko. He begged the archbishop to intervene with the latter's former personal secretary, President Tisso, regarding the expulsion of the Jews from Slovakia. The archbishop replied:

This is no mere expulsion. There — you will not die of hunger and pestilence; there — they will slaughter you all, young and old, women and children, in one day. This is your punishment for the death of our Redeemer. There is only one hope for you, to convert to our religion. Then I shall effect the annulling of this decree.⁸

It is interesting to note that a number of Jews did convert to Christianity in order to save their lives. As Raul Hilberg observes:

(Even though) . . . the Jews were primarily concerned with the protection, such protection could best be rendered by the Catholic Church. The Jews were not interested in theology just then. But therein, precisely, lay the reason for the imbalance of conversions: the Catholic Church was not primarily interested in the saving of lives; it wanted to save souls. Of course the Church protected its converts. The priesthood was angry when the state presumed to nullify the sacred baptism and turn Christians into

⁷ John Morley, *Vatican Diplomacy and the Jews During the Holocaust: 1939-1943*. (New York: Ktav, 1980), p. 101.

⁸ Michael Dov-Ber Weissmandel, *Min Hamezar*, in *Faith After the Holocaust*, Eliezer Berkovits (New York: Ktav, 1973), pp. 16-17.

Jews. But for exactly that reason the Catholic Church did not bestow lightly. The applicant had to be "sincere." If it took a catastrophe to make him "see the light," well then, all right, he could be admitted. However, if he was suspected of merely wanting to save his life, perhaps to revert to Judaism after the end of the war, he was turned away. When the wave of deportations overtook the Jewish community in Slovakia, there was little time for religious instruction, preparation, and meditation. That is, Orthodox Churches converted a disproportionately large number of Jews.⁹

Although Weissmandel knew of these conversions, he refused to accept them as an option. After escaping from a deportation to Auschwitz in the fall of 1944, he approached the papal nuncio (papal delegate) to plead once again for help. The delegate replied: "This, being a Sunday, is a holy day for us. Neither I nor Father Tisso occupy ourselves with profane matters on this day." What Weissmandel did not understand was how the blood of infants and children could be considered a profane matter. The archbishop told him: "There is no innocent blood of Jewish children in the world. All Jewish blood is guilty. You have to die. This is the punishment that has been awaiting you because of that sin (the death of Jesus)."¹⁰

The role of Pope Pius XII has also long been the subject of controversy among scholars. Earlier works by Jewish and Christian writers tend to be highly critical. Saul Friedlander,¹¹ Rolf Hochhuth,¹² Friedrich Heer,¹³ and Nora Levin¹⁴ are especially so. Few would accuse Pius of outright ha-

⁹ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1961), p. 466.

¹⁰ Eliezer Berkovits, *Faith*, pp. 16-17.

¹¹ Friedlander, *Pius XII*.

¹² Rolf Hochhuth, *The Deputy* (New York: Grove Press, 1964).

¹³ Eric Bentley, ed., *The Storm Over The Deputy* (New York: Grove Press, 1964), p. 173.

¹⁴ Nora Levin, *The Holocaust* (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), pp. 687-693.

HANDOUT F-5.1 (cont.)

tred for Jews. But a combination of a long-standing Catholic antisemitic tradition, coupled with his desire to preserve the Catholic community in Germany and to fight the onslaught of Bolshevism, rendered Jews "unfortunate expendables," in the pope's calculations.

• • •

Recently, the controversy over Pius' papacy has once more received widespread attention. Father John Morley, in a recent study of Vatican diplomacy, argues that, generally, in all the important countries of Europe where mass Jewish deportations were occurring, the interventions by Vatican diplomats and papal nuncios were sporadic and reluctant, at times apologetic, and lacking the force of condemnation that the circumstances required. Yet, they had acted forcefully when church rights were at stake. . . .²⁷ And while not directly a response to the new evaluation by Morley, a recent volume by Father J. Derek Holmes of Great Britain has been used by some as a response to Morley. Holmes speaks of Pius' efforts in behalf of the Jews of Rome and feels that a public denunciation of the Nazis might have endangered the Vatican's work to save Jews.²⁸

The case of Pius XII is still far from closed. Catholics and other scholars need to probe further, with an open mind, into his activities and those of the Vatican bureaucracy. It may be that the final judgment on the pope's stance will never reach a consensus, for how does one finally prove or disprove the possible effect of a hypothetical public stance by Pius? It is my contention,

however, that the whole concept of the church that dominated the thinking of Pius XII and his associates, especially how it related the security of the Catholic church to the well-being of non-Catholics, needs to be studied far more thoroughly. Ultimately, Pius' accomplishments and failures were buried with him. There is no way we can change his record. But contemporary Christians are in a position to change their understanding of the church's relationship to Jews and others outside its community and beliefs, especially in times of profound social crisis.²⁹

Despite the different interpretations, a few directions seem clear: (1) an overwhelming majority of Christian clergy acquiesced in the destruction of European Jews; (2) church leaders were unable to mount a successful effort against the Nazis. This bears serious reflection for the continuing struggles which the churches face in the contemporary world; (3) the church's self-understanding and its own sufferings under the Nazis were far too isolated from the sufferings of non-Christians, Jews in particular, to whom suffering meant death. Why did the churches raise the issue of Nazi murder of "baptized" Jews to the exclusion of the Jewish people at large?; (4) the churches were far too connected with the dynamics of German society to really stand in judgment against it; (5) the Jewish Question could not be adequately addressed because of the long-standing theological tradition of anti-Judaism in the churches. This tradition must be obliterated once and for all by the post-Holocaust Christian community; (6) the churches, which will never regain the kind of control over society they once

had, must reflect anew on how to combat totalitarian power. Where are their primary resources in such a context?; and, finally, (7) the churches' fear of communism blinded them to all other forms of totalitarian oppression. Is there danger of repetition in our day?

THE WAR AGAINST THE JEWS:

1933-1945

Lucy S. Dawidowicz

Still less salient to the outcome of the Final Solution was the role of the three Christian religions of Europe: Roman Catholicism, which regards itself as the universal church; Protestantism, primarily the Lutheran, Evangelical, and Calvinist churches; and the Orthodox Church, which dominates Southeastern Europe. All yielded primacy to the national politics in the countries in which they were located, subordinating the teachings of Christ to the national political tradition.

• • •

In Bulgaria the Orthodox Church spoke up for the Jews, perhaps because secular political groups spoke up for the Jews. In Greece, however, the Orthodox Church was silent. As for the Protestant churches, their behavior conformed to the country in which they functioned. In Germany, the Lutheran church abandoned Christian principles in subservience of the racial state. In the Netherlands the Calvinist church demonstrated its rigid conservatism by passivity and indifference to the situation of the Jews. In Denmark the extraordinary political defense of the

Taken from: *The War Against the Jews* by Lucy S. Dawidowicz. Copyright (c) 1975 by Lucy S. Dawidowicz. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Publishers.

²⁷ John Morley, *Vatican Diplomacy*, p. 201.

²⁸ J. Derek Holmes, *The Papacy in the Modern World* (London: Burns & Oates, 1981).

²⁹ See John T. Pawlikowski, *The Challenge of the Holocaust for Christian Theology* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1978), and "Method in Catholic Social Ethics: Some Observations in Light of the Jewish Tradition," in *Formation of Social Policy in the Catholic and Jewish Tradition*, eds. Eugene J. Fisher and Daniel F. Polish (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1980), pp. 162-192.

HANDOUT F-5.1 (cont.)

Jews that the bishops of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran church demonstrated under German occupation reflected the Danish political ethos more than Christian doctrine....

THE SILENCE OF THE CHURCHES

Judah Pilch

An even more painful question is the silence of organized religion.⁸ Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and other faiths. There is no doubt that the rescue work of Church officials who in the spirit of Christian charity opened their cloisters and monasteries to the harried Jews was an important factor in the survival of individual Jews. The courageous denunciation of Nazi barbarities by church dignitaries of western Europe and especially the statement of Pope Pius XI that "in spirit we are Semites" had a considerable impact on many clergymen. The daring pronouncements against Nazi terror by Pastors Niemoller in Germany and Boegner in France rank high as inspiring acts of courage. By the same token the defiance of cardinals and bishops in France, Belgium, Galicia, and Netherlands are examples of true heroism — some paid with their lives for their compassion. There is no doubt that many of the survivors owe their lives to the humanitarian acts of both the clerics and compassionate laymen. But these righteous acts were isolated instances: they were the exception to the rule.

• • •

Taken from: Judah Pilch, editor. *The Jewish Catastrophe in Europe* (New York: The American Association for Jewish Education, 1968), p. 210. Used by permission.

⁸ The Moslem religious leaders sympathized with the Arabs who accused the Jews of having invaded Palestine. The leaders of Islam were totally indifferent to the plight of the Jews. The spokesmen of organized religion in the Far East were not concerned with the tragic events in Europe.

HANDOUT F-5.2

PIUS XII AND THE JEWS

Anthony Rhodes

In private, the Pope Pius XII undoubtedly did an immense amount for the Jews. He instructed the churches, monasteries and convents to raise the limit of the number of guests normally taken in, so that as many Jews as possible could find asylum. As there were 155 of these establishments in Rome, nearly all extra-territorial property of the Vatican – access to which was therefore forbidden to the Italian police – this was a dispensation of considerable value to the Jews. During the German occupation of Rome, they sheltered some 5000 Jews, and several dozen found refuge in the Vatican itself.³ In gratitude for this, the American Jewish Welfare Board wrote to Pope Pius XII on the 21st July, 1944, "We are deeply moved by this remarkable display of Christian love, the protection afforded to Italian Jews by the Catholic Church and the Vatican during the German occupation of Italy – particularly as the risks incurred by those who gave shelter were immense." It is therefore, I think, established beyond all doubt that the humane work of the Pope in helping suffering European Jewry during the Second World War, not only by large donations⁴ but by hiding them from their perse-

cutors, was in the finest charitable traditions of the Catholic Church. Criticism of Pius XII for his conduct during the war arises from quite different grounds.

• • •

...He should, his critics say, have pronounced publicly against the Nazi crime of genocide, condemning it before the whole world. His principal accuser is Mr. Gunter Levy, a German Jew who left Germany in 1939 for Palestine and, later, the U.S.A. In his scholarly and well-documented *The Catholic Church and the Third Reich*, Levy contends that by the end of 1942 the Vatican must have had "basic knowledge" of the gassings and exterminations in Eastern Poland.* For this basic knowledge he lists three important sources: Dr. Joseph Muller, an officer in Canaris's *Abwehr*, who was appalled by what he learned at work, and who was "a close friend of Cardinal Faulhaber"; Dr. Hans Globke, a Catholic and senior official at the Innenministerium dealing with racial questions; and finally, the S.S. officer Gerstein, an expert on cyanide gas who joined the S.S. deliberately, knowing he would be sent to Auschwitz where he could find out the truth about the rumours brought home by the soldiers. Information from all these quarters, says Levy, must somehow have filtered back to Rome by the end of 1942. Moreover in November 1942 Mr. Myron Taylor was informed at the Vatican that, while they were without specific proof, they believed that the stories about the massacre of Jews in Eastern Europe to be "largely if not completely

true".⁷ Why then did not Pius XII, custodian of the world's ethical and moral values, publicly castigate "the greatest crime in history"? Why, others have asked, did he not excommunicate Hitler? The principal reason for taking either of these steps would have been, of course, to force the Nazi leaders, under pressure of Catholic opinion in Germany and the world, to abandon, or at least relax, the persecution of the Jews.

Excommunication, history has shown, is a Papal weapon which has to be used with considerable care. On certain occasions it has been effective, and it brought Henry IV to Canossa. But that was in the Age of Faith. Its effect on Elizabeth I of England was disastrous for the Catholic Church. It brought about the final secession of the Anglican Church, the execution of hundreds of English Catholics, and the English heretics' domination of the world's sea routes, hitherto controlled by the Catholic Powers. Moreover, most English Catholics remained loyal to their temporal ruler. It was equally ineffective against Napoleon, who had brought the Pope to France, where the humiliated Pontiff was made to witness his self-coronation. Nor did the excommunication have any effect on Napoleon's *Grande Armée* whose soldiers cheerfully accompanied their Emperor to Jena, Wagram, Friedland...

Its effect on Hitler was predictable by anyone who had close contact with him in his private life. In the *Lagebesprechungen* is an entry for the 9th September, 1943 when the German troops occupied Rome, and there was question of what to do with the Allied diplomats who had taken refuge in the Vatican – "That doesn't matter. I'll go into the Vatican when I like. Do you think the Vatican worries me? We'll grab it. Yes, the whole diplomatic bunch is there. I couldn't care less. That

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³ For a list of monasteries, etc. which sheltered Jews, see Renzo di Felice, *Storia degli Ebrei sotto il Fascismo*. The *Palestine Post* of 22nd January, 1946 reports that at Assisi in the monastery founded by St. Francis a synagogue for the concealed Jews was installed in the basement: "While Catholics worshipped overhead, they knew that underneath the Jewish victims of the Nazis were also praying."

⁴ On the 26th September, 1943 the Gestapo ordered the Jewish community in Rome to produce fifty-five kilograms of gold within thirty-six hours; failing this, 300 hostages would be taken. As this amount could not be raised so quickly, the Chief Rabbi approached the Vatican, which contributed immediately fifteen kilograms towards the sum.

* The information was conveyed to the British government by the Polish government in London. (Editor's note: This information was provided to the Polish government by Jan Karski, a member of the Polish underground. See Jan Karski's account, *The Story of a Secret State*.)

⁷ P.O. 371/30922, despatch from Lord Halifax, 19th November, 1942.

HANDOUT F-5.2

bunch in there, we'll drag them out, the whole swinish pack of them. What does it matter? We can apologize afterwards, that's nothing to worry about...."⁸

• • •

The Pope himself clearly realized the futility of excommunication. Don Pizzo Scavizzi reports him as saying at the time, "I have often considered excommunication, to castigate in the eyes of the entire world the fearful crime of genocide. But after much praying and many tears, I realise that my condemnation would not only fail to help the Jews, it might even worsen their situation.... No doubt a protest would have gained me the praise and respect of the civilised world, but it would have submitted the poor Jews to an even worse persecution."¹⁴ The praise and respect of the civilised world? The acclaim of decent men like Levy, Friedlander and Hochhuth? But would his action have been effective?

This leads to the more difficult question of why Pius XII did not speak out publicly, branding the Nazis for the fearful happenings in Eastern Europe.¹⁵ Those who criticise him contend that a Papal condemnation of Germany referring specifically to the "Extermination of the Jews", announced over the Vatican radio, and repeated in a thousand pulpits throughout the world, would have had a far greater effect than the re-

peated descriptions by the Allies of the *Endlösung* which were regarded in many neutral, and even Allied, countries as propaganda. Moreover, contend these critics, many Jews who had been reassured by the German authorities that they were merely being transported elsewhere for work, would have known the truth, and instead of presenting themselves meekly for the journey to the unknown destination, would have gone into hiding.

• • •

In his *private* messages to Heads of States in connection with the persecution of the Jews, Pius XII certainly "spoke up".

But this still does not answer the question of why the Pope did not condemn *ex cathedra* the author or fount of the Jewish atrocities, Adolf Hitler in person, without whom Laval, Salazci, Farinacci and the smaller anti-Semite fry would have been powerless. The answer is given by Mr. Tittmann, the American Charge d'Affaires at the Vatican, who reported to the State Department in September 1942 that he had learned from Vatican officials that the Pope would not condemn the *Endlösung* openly, because he did not wish to make the situation of Catholics worse in Germany and the occupied territories.

Moreover, reported Tittmann, the Pope had said he could not condemn the Nazis by *name* unless he also condemned the atrocities committed by the Russians — and this, His Holiness presumed, would be displeasing to Russia's Western Allies. Before condemning he would also have to send his own investigation team on the spot to confirm what was alleged by one or other of the belligerents — and this in war-time would be impossible.¹⁹

¹⁹ U.S. State Department, F.R.U.S., Diplomatic papers 11912 and 740, 00116. European War, 1939. Quoted by G.O. Kent, "Pius XII and Germany", *American Historical Review*, No. 70 (1964).

One particular letter to a German bishop by the Pope reveals both that the Pope was well aware of the Jewish deportations, and why at the same time he would not condemn the Nazis specifically. It is dated 30th April, 1943 to Bishop von Preysing of Berlin, the German bishop closest to the Pope, with whom he had formed a friendship when, as Mgr. Pacelli, he was Nuncio in Berlin in the late twenties. It is probably the most important of the ninety-three Papal communications to German bishops in the Second World War.

"It was for us," he wrote,²⁰ "a great consolation to learn that Catholics, in particular those of your Berlin diocese, have shown such charity towards the sufferings of the Jews. We express our paternal gratitude and profound sympathy for Mgr. Lichtenberg who asked to share the lot of the Jews in the concentration camps, and who spoke up against their persecution in the pulpit."²¹ The Pope then made a significant point:

As far as episcopal declarations are concerned, we leave to local bishops the responsibility of deciding what to publish from Our communications. The danger of reprisals and pressures — as well perhaps of other measures due to the length and psychology of the war — counsel reserve. In spite of good reasons for Our open intervention, there are others equally good for avoiding greater evils by not interfering. Our experience in 1942, when We allowed the free publication of certain Pontifical documents addressed to the Faithful justifies this attitude.²²

In Our Christmas message, We said a word concerning the Jews in the territories under

⁸ Helmut Heiber, ed., *Hitlers Lagebesprechungen* (Deutsche Verlag-Austral, Stuttgart, 1962), p. 329. This is also confirmed by Alan Bullock in his *Hitler—A Study in Tyranny*.

¹⁴ *La Parrochia*, April 1964.

¹⁵ In January 1942 at the Wannsee Conference in Berlin, the Nazis decided on the *Endlösung* or "Final Solution" of the Jewish problem, namely the extermination of all Jews in the territories under their control. This, it was estimated, would involve the destruction of some eleven million human beings.

²⁰ *Actes et Documents de Saint Siege*, Vol. 2, No. 105. Also quoted in P. Rassinier, *L'Operation "Vicaire"* (Table Ronde, 1965).

²¹ Mgr. Lichtenberg was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for this and he died in Dachau.

²² The Dutch bishops' declaration on behalf of the Jews, already referred to, which resulted in the baptised Jews being sent to Auschwitz.

HANDOUT F-5.2

German control. The reference was short, but it was well understood. it is superfluous to say that Our love and paternal solicitude for all non-Aryan Catholics, children of the Church like all others, are greater today when their exterior existence is collapsing, and they know such moral distress. Unhappily in the present state of affairs, We can bring them no help other than Our prayers.

• • •

VATICAN

EFFORTS BY THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO
HAVE THE POPE PROTEST PUBLICLY AGAINST NAZI ATROCITIES IN
GERMAN-OCCUPIED AREAS

740.00116 European War 1939/5271: Telegram

The Minister in Switzerland (Harrison) to the Secretary of State

BERN, August 3, 1942—6 p. m.

[Received 10:12 p. m.]

3576. From Tittmann.¹ No. 128, July 30. In recent reports to the Department (my despatches Nos. 79, 85, 86, 87, and 88,² and my letter to Dunn of July 17³), I have called attention to the opinion that the failure of the Holy See to protest publicly against Nazi atrocities is endangering its moral prestige and is undermining faith both in the church and in the Holy Father himself. I have on a number of occasions informally reminded the Vatican of this danger and so have certain of my colleagues but without result. The answer is invariably that the Pope in his speeches has already condemned offenses against morality in wartime and that to be specific now would only make matters worse.

Yesterday the Brazilian Ambassador to the Holy See⁴ called on me to inquire whether I would be prepared to join in a concerted (not collective but rather simultaneous) *démarche* to persuade the Pope to condemn publicly and in specific terms the Nazi atrocities in German-occupied areas. Monsieur Accioly said that he had already received the necessary instructions from his Government for him to take part in such a *démarche* and was endeavoring to enlist the cooperation of the representatives of Great Britain, Poland, Belgium, Yugoslavia and as many Latin American countries as possible. The Belgian Ambassador has already agreed and the British Minister and Polish Ambassador are telegraphing for instructions. The Polish Ambassador tells me furthermore that he is under the impression that his Government may have recently made soundings in the above sense among certain Allied Governments.

While I doubt very much that the Pope can be moved to take the

¹ Harold H. Tittmann, Assistant to Myron C. Taylor, President Roosevelt's Personal Representative to Pope Pius XII. Mr. Tittmann was in charge of affairs while Mr. Taylor was in the United States.

² None printed.

³ Not printed; James Clement Dunn was Adviser on Political Relations.

⁴ Hildebrando Pompeu Accioly.

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desired action I cannot see that the *démarche* could do any harm and I believe it would serve to reinforce the individual reminders that have heretofore been made.

If the Department feels that it is desirable that I take part in such a *démarche* I would appreciate receiving instructions at an early date. [Tittmann.]

HARRISON

740.00116 European War 1939/5271: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Switzerland (Harrison)

WASHINGTON, August 4, 1942—10 p. m.

1911. For Tittmann. Your 128, July 30. In the event the Brazilian Ambassador endeavors to have the Pope publicly condemn the Nazi atrocities in German-occupied areas, and you are informed of such action, you are authorized to make an independent but simultaneous approach to the Vatican Foreign Office and to point out the universal condemnation of these cruel and inhuman actions by the Hitler forces and the universal condemnation which has been reflected in the expressions of all free peoples at these incredible horrors. You may also point out the helpful effect of a similar condemnation on the part of the Pope in bringing about some check on the unbridled and uncalled for actions of the Nazi forces.

HULL

740.00116 European War 1939/524

Memorandum of Conversation, by the Under Secretary of State (Welles)

[WASHINGTON,] August 18, 1942.

Sir Ronald Campbell^a called to see me this morning at his request.

The Minister stated that the British Minister at the Vatican had been authorized to make simultaneous approaches to the Cardinal Secretary of State^a with other representatives of the United Nations, upon the initiative of the Brazilian Ambassador, to urge that the Vatican do what might be possible publicly to condemn the assassination and abuse by Germany of innocent persons in occupied territories. I told the Minister that the American representative, Mr. Tittmann, had already been authorized to the same effect.

S[UMNER] W[ELLES]

^a British Minister in the United States.

^a Cardinal Luigi Maglione.

740.00116 European War 1939/590

*Mr. Harold H. Tittmann, Assistant to the President's Personal Representative to Pope Pius XII, to the Cardinal Secretary of State (Maglione)*¹

MEMORANDUM

In accordance with instructions received from his Government, the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States to the Holy See² has the honor to call the attention of His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State to the cruel and inhuman treatment by the Hitler forces of the civil populations in areas occupied by the Germans. He desires to point out that these incredible horrors have been universally condemned and that this universal condemnation has been reflected in the expressions of all free peoples.

The Chargé d'Affaires has also been authorized by his Government to point out the helpful effect that a similar condemnation of these atrocities by the Holy Father would have in bringing about some check on the unbridled and uncalled-for actions of the forces of the Nazi regime.

VATICAN CITY, September 14, 1942.

740.00116 European War 1939/584: Telegram

The Minister in Switzerland (Harrison) to the Secretary of State

BERN, September 18, 1942—2 p. m.
[Received September 18—12:29 p. m.]

4261. From Tittmann. No. 156, September 14. My 153, September 8.³ Upon learning that the Brazilian Ambassador to the Holy See made his approach to the Vatican this morning by sending to the Secretariat of State a memorandum addressed to the Cardinal Secretary of State, I took similar action later on in the day by sending in a memorandum⁴ in the sense of the Department's telegram No. 1911, August 4. My British and Uruguayan colleagues also sent in their communications today, Mr. Osborne's⁵ in the form of a first person note.

A *démarche* in the same sense on behalf of eight occupied countries but unrelated to the Accioly proposal was made by the Polish and

¹ Copy transmitted to the Department by Mr. Tittmann in his despatch No. 114, September 15; received October 14.

² Myron Taylor, the Personal Representative of the President to Pope Pius XII, was absent from the Vatican. In his absence, Mr. Tittmann was Chargé at the Vatican, but he was not accredited to the Holy See.

³ Not printed.

⁴ *Supra*.

⁵ Francis D. G. Osborne, British Minister to the Vatican.

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Belgian Ambassadors when they handed a joint note to Monsignor Tardini¹² (in the absence of the Cardinal) on September 12. It is not expected, after all, that the Yugoslav representative here will make a separate *démarche* since his country is included in the joint note. The texts of the communications cited above are being forwarded by air mail.¹³ [Tittmann.]

HARRISON

121.866A/302

*The President's Personal Representative to Pope Pius XII (Taylor)
to the Cardinal Secretary of State (Maglione)*

VATICAN CITY, September 26, 1942.

MY DEAR CARDINAL MAGLIONE: I have the honor to bring to the attention of Your Eminence the following memorandum which has been received from my Government:

"The following was received from the Geneva Office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in a letter dated August 30th, 1942. That office received the report from two reliable eye-witnesses (Aryans), one of whom came on August 14th from Poland.

"(1) Liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto is taking place. Without any distinction all Jews, irrespective of age or sex, are being removed from the Ghetto in groups and shot. Their corpses are utilized for making fats and their bones for the manufacture of fertilizer. Corpses are even being exhumed for these purposes.

"(2) These mass executions take place, not in Warsaw, but in especially prepared camps for the purpose, one of which is stated to be in Belzek. About 50,000 Jews have been executed in Lemberg itself on the spot during the past month. According to another report, 100,000 have been massacred in Warsaw. There is not one Jew left in the entire district east of Poland, including occupied Russia. It is also reported, in this connection, that the entire non-Jewish population of Sebastopol was murdered. So as not to attract the attention of foreign countries, the butchering of the Jewish population in Poland was not done at one single time.

"(3) Jews deported from Germany, Belgium, Holland, France, and Slovakia are sent to be butchered, while Aryans deported to the East from Holland and France are genuinely used for work.

"(4) Inasmuch as butcherings of this kind would attract great attention in the west, they must first of all deport them to the East, where less opportunity is afforded to outsiders of knowing what is going on. During the last few weeks a large part of the Jewish population deported to Lithuania and Lublin has already been executed. That is probably the reason why the deportees were not permitted to have correspondence with any one. A great number of the German refugees were taken to Theresienstadt. This place, however, is only an interim station and the people there await the same fate.

¹² Domenico Tardini, Papal Under Secretary of State.

¹³ Despatch No. 114, September 15, 1942, not printed.

"(5) Arrangements are made for new deportations as soon as space is made by executions. Caravans of such deportees being transported in cattle cars are often seen. There are about forty people in each cattle car. It is especially significant to note that Lithuanian non-Jews are entrusted with fetching the candidates from the death Ghetto in Warsaw.

"(6) It is a tragedy that the Polish population is being incited by the Germans against the Jews and the relationship between the Poles and the Jews has been aggravated to the last degree. In Lemberg this is particularly true."

I should much appreciate it if Your Eminence could inform me whether the Vatican has any information that would tend to confirm the reports contained in this memorandum. If so, I should like to know whether the Holy Father has any suggestions as to any practical manner in which the forces of civilized public opinion could be utilized in order to prevent a continuation of these barbarities.

I avail [etc.]

[TAYLOR]

740.00116 European War 1939/642

Mr. Harold H. Tittmann, Assistant to the President's Personal Representative to Pope Pius XII, to the Secretary of State

No. 117

VATICAN CITY, October 6, 1942.

[Received November 2.]

SIR: With reference to my telegrams nos. 161 of September 20 and 166 of October 6,¹⁶ as well as to my despatch no. 114 of September 15,¹⁷ reporting the progress of the initiative of the Brazilian Ambassador to the Holy See in endeavoring to persuade the Pope to condemn publicly Nazi atrocities against the civil populations in the areas occupied by the Germans, I have the honor to transmit herewith the texts,¹⁷ in the Spanish language, of the first person Notes on the subject which were addressed to the Cardinal Secretary of State by the Peruvian Ambassador and the Cuban Chargé d'Affaires on September 17 and 23, respectively.

It would appear that M. Accioly's efforts are having the full and active support of the Jesuits. . . .

I understand that the Pope is giving careful consideration to the matter and the general impression is that he will say something at an opportune moment. Opinion in the Vatican seems to be divided as to the wisdom of the Accioly *démarche*. . . .

¹⁶ Neither printed.

¹⁷ Not printed.

The Holy See is still apparently convinced that a forthright denunciation by the Pope of Nazi atrocities, at least in so far as Poland is concerned, would only result in the violent deaths of many more people. Mgr. Montini,¹⁸ however, stated to me that the time may come when, in spite of such a grievous prospect, the Holy Father will feel himself obliged to speak out.

In addition to the reasons enumerated in my despatch no. 109 of September 8, 1942,¹⁹ another motive, possibly the controlling one, behind the Pope's disinclination to denounce Nazi atrocities is his fear that if he does so now, the German people, in the bitterness of their defeat, will reproach him later on for having contributed, if only indirectly, to this defeat. It has been pointed out to me that just such an accusation was directed against the Holy See by the Germans after the last war, because of certain phrases spoken and attitudes adopted by Benedict XV while hostilities were in progress. When it is borne in mind that Pius XII had many years of conditioning in Germany, it will not seem unnatural that he should be particularly sensible to this particular argument.

Respectfully yours,

HAROLD H. TITTMANN

7400.00116 European War 1939/605 : Telegram

The Minister in Switzerland (Harrison) to the Secretary of State

BERN, October 16, 1942—10 a. m.

[Received 10:14 a. m.]

4675. From Tittmann. 169, October 10. Department's telegram 2235, September 23, and my 163, September 29.²⁰ For the Under Secretary. Holy See replied today to Mr. Taylor's letter²¹ regarding the predicament of the Jews in Poland in an informal and unsigned statement handed me by the Cardinal Secretary of State. After thanking Ambassador Taylor for bringing the matter to the attention of the Holy See the statement says that reports of severe measures taken against non-Aryans have also reached the Holy See from other sources but that up to the present time it has not been possible to verify the accuracy thereof. However, the statement adds it is well known that the Holy See is taking advantage of every opportunity offered in order to mitigate the suffering of non-Aryans.

I regret that Holy See could not have been more helpful but it was evident from the attitude of the Cardinal that it has no practical suggestions to make. I think it is perhaps likely that the belief is held

¹⁸ Giovanni Montini, Papal Under Secretary of State.

¹⁹ Not printed.

²⁰ Neither printed.

²¹ Letter of September 26, p. 775.

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that there is little hope of checking Nazi barbarities by any method
except that of physical force coming from without. [Tittmann.]

HARRISON

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

AS

Bern

This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (C)

FROM Bern dated December 26, 1942

Rec'd 5:15 p.m.

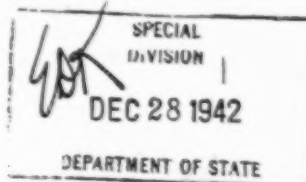
Secretary of State,

Washington.

6144, December 26, 4 p.m.

FROM TITTMAN 212, December 22.

My 169, October 10.



116 E. W.
275

In a recent conversation with the Cardinal Secretary
of State I referred to the joint declaration of the
United Nations on the mass extermination of the Jews
in German occupied countries and asked him whether
there was not something Holy See could do along similar
lines. He replied as before to the effect that Holy
See was unable to denounce publicly particularly atrocities
but that it had frequently condemned atrocities in general.
He added that everything possible was being done privately
to relieve the distress of the Jews. Although deploring
cruelties that have come to his attention he said that
Holy See was unable to verify allied reports as to the
number of Jews exterminated et cetera.

There are rumors to the effect that the Pope in his
Christmas

-2- #6144, December 26, 4 p.m., from Bern

Christmas message will take a strong stand on this subject but I am afraid that any deviation from generalities of his previous messages is unlikely.

HARRISON

RLO

HANDOUT F-5.3 (cont.)

EXCERPTS FROM THE TEXT OF OFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF THE POPE'S CHRISTMAS EVE BROADCAST

The New York Times, Thursday, December 25,
1941

VATICAN CITY, Dec. 24 — The following is the official English translation of Pope Pius XII's Christmas Eve broadcast to the world:

In the dawning light of the Holy Feast of the Nativity of Our Divine Saviour, an occasion anticipated always with a lively sense of pride and penetrating joy, as men again prepare to bow down and kneel in adoration before the ineffable mystery of the merciful bounty of God, who in His infinite charity wished to offer to humanity as His greatest and most august gift His only begotten son, our heart goes out to you, beloved sons and daughters in every corner of the earth, and our thoughts, while not abandoning this world, are raised above it to penetrate the heavenly realms.

• • •

RELIGIOUS ANEMIA GRIPS WORLD

A religious anemia, like a spreading contagion, has so afflicted many peoples of Europe and of the world and has created in their souls such a moral void that no spurious and pharisaical religious organization and no national or international mythology will serve to fill this emptiness.

Is it not true that for decades and centuries past men have directed their every thought, word and deed to their sworn objective of tearing from the hearts of our young and old alike their faith in God, the

Creator and father of all, rewarder of good and avenger of evil? And have they not striven for the accomplishment of this goal through a process of radical change in education and instruction, opposing and oppressing by every art and means the diffusion of the spoken and printed word, and by the abuse of scientific knowledge and political power the religion and the church of Christ?

For the human spirit, overwhelmed in the confusion of this moral abyss, by its alienation from God and Christian practices, no other course remained but that of turning all its thoughts, purposes and enterprises and every evaluation of men's possessions, actions and labor and directing them to the material world, striving and sweating with might and main to spread out in space, to surpass all previous accomplishments in the attainment of riches and power, to engage in a competition of speed, to produce in greater quantity and quality everything that material advancement and progress seemed to require.

SPIRIT OF CHURCH'S FOES

That all this, and even more, should be continued in the midst of the sufferings of the present time is a sad commentary on the spirit which animates the enemies of the church in imposing upon the faithful, already bearing many heavy sacrifices, the irksome and the troublesome burden of a bitter anxiety which weighs upon their consciences.

We love, and in this we call upon God to be our witness, we love with equal affection all peoples, without any exception whatsoever, and in order to avoid even the appearance of being moved by partisanship we have maintained hitherto the greatest reserve.

BLESSING TO ALL MANKIND

At the dawning of that day with what great joy will nations and rulers, freed in

mind from the fear of the insidious dangers of further conflict, transform the swords, nicked and jagged from constant use against their fellowman, into plows with which to furrow the fertile breast of the earth under the sun of heavenly benediction and to wrest from it their daily bread dampened, now by the sweat of their brows but no longer bathed in blood and tears of sorrow! In expectation of that happy day, and with this longing prayer upon our lips, we send our greeting and our blessing to all our children of the entire universe.

May our benediction descend in more generous measure on those priests, religious, and lay persons who are suffering pain and anguish because of their faith. May it also descend upon those who, though not members of the visible body of the Catholic Church, are near to us in their faith in God and in Jesus Christ and share with us our views with regard to the provisions for the peace and its fundamental aims.

May it descend with a quickened heartbeat of affection upon all those who are groaning under the weight of the sadness and the cruel anguish of the present hour.

May it be a shield to the soldiers under arms, a healing remedy to the sick and wounded, a comfort to the prisoners, to those expelled from their native land, to those who are far from their homes and loved ones, to those deported to foreign lands, to the millions of wretched who, at every hour, must bear up under the gnawing pangs of hunger.

May it be a sweet balsam to all sorrow and misfortune, a support and consolation to all the suffering and needy as they wait in expectation of a friendly word that may infuse into their hearts strength, courage and the comforting sense of compassion and fraternal assistance.

Finally, may our blessing rest upon those whose hands have been extended in mercy and in a spirit of generous and inexhaustible sacrifice to provide us, above the limitations of our own, with the means which

HANDOUT F-5.3 (cont.)

have enabled us to assuage the tears and allay the poverty of many, especially of the most wretched and abandoned victims of the war and in this way to make them realize how divine goodness and loving kindness, which have their highest and most surpassing revelation in the Infant of the Manger, who by His poverty wished to make us rich, never cease in all the vicissitudes of time and misfortunes to live and have their practical exemplification in the Church.

To all we impart, with profound paternal love and from the fullness of our heart, the Apostolic Benediction.

HANDOUT F-5.3 (cont.)

EXCERPTS FROM THE TEXT OF POPE PIUS XII'S CHRISTMAS MESSAGE BROADCAST FROM THE VATICAN TO THE WORLD

The New York Times, Friday, December 25, 1942

The following is the official translation of the Pope's address broadcast yesterday over the Vatican Radio Station HVJ, as recorded and transcribed by THE NEW YORK TIMES:

My Dear Children of the Whole World:

As the Holy Christmas season comes round each year, the message of Jesus, who is light in the midst of darkness, echoes once more from the crib of Bethlehem in the ears of Christians and reechoes in their hearts with an ever new freshness joy and piety.

It is a message that lights up with heavenly truth a world that is plunged in darkness by fatal errors. It infuses exuberant and trustful joy into mankind, torn by the anxiety of deep and bitter sorrow. It proclaims liberty to the sons of Adam, shackled with the chains of sin and guilt. It promises mercy, love, peace to the countless hosts of those in suffering and tribulation who see their happiness shattered and their efforts broken in the tempestuous strife and hate of our stormy days.

The watchword: "I have compassion on the multitude," is for us a sacred trust which may not be abused, and it remains strong and intelligent at all times and in all human situations, as it was the distinguishing word of Jesus.

The church would be untrue to herself, would cease to be a mother, if she turned deaf ears to her children's anguished cries that reach her from every class of the human family.

She does not intend to take sides for either of the particular forms in which several

peoples or states try to solve the gigantic problem of domestic order or international collaboration, as long as these forms conform to the law of God.

But on the other hand, as the pillar and ground of truth and guardian by the will of God of the mandate of Christ, and of the natural and supernatural order, the church cannot renounce her rights to proclaim to her sons and the whole world the unchanging basic laws, saving them from every perversion or frustration, corruption, false interpretation and error.

This is all the more necessary for the fact that some exact maintenance of these laws, not merely by the efforts of the noble and courageous will, depends in the last analysis on the solidity of any national quality of courage and sacrifice of all peoples.

We know the qualities of courage and sacrifice of those peoples, and we also know their straitened conditions and their sorrows; and in this hour of unspeakable trial and strife we feel ourselves bound to each other and every one of them without exception, by a deep, all-embracing, unmovable affection, and by an immense desire to bring them every solace and help which is in any way at our command....

CONSIDERATIONS OF THE WORLD WAR AND THE RENOVATION OF SOCIETY

Beloved children, may God grant that while you listen to our voice your heart may be profoundly stirred and moved by the deeply felt seriousness, the loving solicitude, the unremitting insistence with which we drive home these thoughts, which are meant as an appeal to the conscience of the world, and a rallying cry to all those who are ready to ponder and weigh the grandeur of their mission and responsibility by the vastness of this universal disaster.

A great part of mankind, and, let us not shirk from saying it, not a few who call

HANDOUT F-5.3 (cont.)

themselves Christians, have to some extent their share in the collective responsibility for the growth of error and for the harm and the lack of moral fiber in the society of today.

What is this world war, with all its attendant circumstances, whether they be remote or proximate causes, its progress and material, legal and moral effects – what is it but the crumbling process, not expected, perhaps, by the thoughtless, but seen and deprecated by those whose gaze penetrated into the realities of a social order which, behind a deceptive exterior or the mask of conventional shibboleths, hid its mortal weakness and its unbridled lust for gain and power?

That which in peacetime lay coiled up, broke loose at the outbreak of war in a sad succession of acts at variance with the human and Christian sense.

International agreements to make war less inhuman by confining it to the combatants, to regulate the procedure of occupation and the imprisonment of the conquered, remained in various places a dead letter; and who can, see the end of this progressive demoralization of the people; who can wish to watch impotently this disastrous progress?

Should they not rather, over the ruins of a social order which has given such tragic proof of its ineptitude as a factor for the good of the people, gather together the hearts of all those who are magnanimous and upright in the solemn vow not to rest until in all peoples and all nations of the earth a vast legion shall be formed of those handfuls of men who, bent on bringing back society to its center of gravity, which is the law of God, aspire to the service of the human person and of his common life ennobled in God?

Mankind owes that vow to the countless dead who lie buried on the field of battle. The sacrifice of their life in the fulfillment of

their duty is a holocaust offered for a new and better social order.

Mankind owes that vow to the innumerable sorrowing host of mothers, widows and orphans who have seen the light, the solace and the support of their lives wrenched from them.

Mankind owes that vow to those numberless exiles whom the hurricane of war has torn from their native land and scattered in the land of the stranger, who can make their own the lament of the prophet: "Our inheritance is turned to aliens: our house to strangers."

Mankind owes that vow to the hundreds of thousands of persons who, without any fault on their part, sometimes only because of their nationality or race, have been consigned to death or to a slow decline.

Mankind owes that vow to the many thousands of noncombatants, women, children, sick and aged, from whom aerial warfare, whose horrors we have from the beginning frequently denounced, has, without discrimination or through inadequate precautions, taken life, goods, health, home, charitable refuge or house of prayer.

Mankind owes that vow to the flood of tears and bitterness, to the accumulation of sorrow and suffering, emanating from the murderous ruin of the dreadful conflict, and crying to heaven to send down the Holy Spirit to liberate the world from the inundation of violence and terror.

HANDOUT F-5.4

BLESSED MAXMILLIAN KOLBE MARTYR OF AUSCHWITZ

Warren Green

Raymond Kolbe (upon entering the religious life he assumed the name Maxmillian) was born in Zdunska Wola, Poland in January 1894. After initial religious training in Poland, Kolbe traveled to Rome to complete his theological studies. During his stay in Rome he and six other students organized a religious group which they called the Militia of Mary Immaculate or the Knights of the Immaculata. Members of this group consecrated their lives to Mary Immaculate and the teachings of the Catholic Church. Their energies were aimed at working for the salvation of all souls, especially those who were bitter enemies of the church, such as Freemasons and Communists.

In 1919, Father Kolbe returned to his native Poland where he spread the message of the new religious order. During the course of the 1920's and 1930's, the Knights of the Immaculata gained strength, numbers and influence. In 1927, a parcel of land was donated to the group in order to establish a religious community which was called Niepokalanow ("the City of the Immaculata"). By 1930 the population of the religious community totaled 772 friars and students. Relying on the power of the press, the Knights of the Immaculata published a number of newspapers and magazines in Polish and Latin with a widespread circulation among Catholic clergy and laity. Between 1930-36, Father Kolbe spent much of his time traveling in the Orient, especially in Japan, where he spread the teachings of his religious order. Through his efforts a religious community similar to Niepokalanow was established in Na-

gasaki, Japan. In 1936, Father Kolbe returned to Poland.

Shortly after the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, Father Kolbe was arrested by the Nazi authorities. He was released on November 9, 1939 after spending some time in a prison in Germany and in a detention camp in Poland. On February 17, 1941, Father Kolbe was again arrested by the Germans. Although he was never formally charged with a crime, we can surmise that he was included among the members of the Polish civil, religious and cultural elite who were fated to die because of their potential power to muster opposition to the German occupation forces.

After spending three months in the Pawiak Prison in Warsaw, Father Kolbe was transferred to Auschwitz. At Auschwitz Father Kolbe was assigned to a Polish prisoners, barracks in the main camp. Never very physically healthy, Father Kolbe slowly began to succumb to the harsh conditions of the concentration camp. Polish survivors who were imprisoned with him recall how Father Kolbe served as a source of spiritual strength for his imprisoned countrymen.

Sometime in the end of July 1941, the prison guards discovered that a prisoner from Block 14, Father Kolbe's barracks, had escaped. As punishment for the escape, 10 prisoners were randomly selected for execution. Among the prisoners selected was a Polish army sergeant, Francis Gajowniczek.

When Gajowniczek learned of his fate, he screamed out, "My poor wife, my poor children, what will happen to my family!" Dr. Nicetus Francis Wlodarski, a witness to the selection, recounted, "After the selection of the 10 prisoners, Father Maxmillian slipped out of line, took off his cap, and placed himself before the commandant. Astounded, Fritsch (Lager Fuehres Captain Fritsch) asked him: 'What does this Polish pig want? Father Maxmillian pointed with his hand to the condemned Gajowniczek and replied: 'I

am a Catholic priest from Poland; I would like to take his place, because he has a wife and children.' From astonishment, the commandant appeared unable to speak. After a moment he gave a sign with the hand. He spoke but one word: 'Away!' Gajowniczek received the command to return to the row he had just left. In this manner Father Maxmillian took the place of the condemned man."

Father Kolbe and the nine other condemned men were taken to Block 11 or as it was commonly called by the inmates of Auschwitz, "the Block of Death." Their fate was to slowly die from starvation.

Bruno Borgowiec, a Polish inmate who served as one of the camp's undertakers, recalled the last days of Father Kolbe. "...From this death cell we heard daily prayers spoken with strong voices, the rosary and religious hymns. Prisoners in other cells also joined in. In the moments when the guard was absent, I descended to the lower bunker to converse with my suffering companions and to console them.... Father Maxmillian began and the others answered. Sometimes they were so absorbed in prayer that they failed to note the entrance of the guard; they became quiet at their shouts.

Often at the opening of the doors the unfortunates cried and begged for a piece of bread and a sip of water. Even this was refused them.... Father Maxmillian's death was heroic. He did not whine, neither did he murmur. He encouraged and comforted the others. As all were already very much weakened by the long time, the prayers could only be whispered. At each visit Father Maxmillian was still standing or kneeling in the middle of the cell and looking calmly at those entering."

On Aug. 14, after almost two weeks of starvation, Father Kolbe was injected with a lethal dose of poison. Death followed immediately.

Taken from: Warren Green. "40th Anniversary of Death of Father Kolbe, Martyr of Auschwitz, to be Noted Here." *St. Louis Jewish Light*, August 12, 1981, p. 5. Excerpted by permission. *St. Louis Jewish Light*, (c) 1984; all rights reserved.

HANDOUT F-5.5

"OPERATION BAPTISM": THE FUTURE POPE JOHN XXIII SAVES HUNGARIAN JEWS

Ira Hirschmann

The deportation of Hungarian Jews had been stepped up to a rate that indicated the frantic efforts of Eichmann and his murdering crew to finish their genocide before the end of the war.... From April 10 to May 21, twenty-nine transports had gone from Hungary to Auschwitz, carrying 94,667 Jews to their death. The next seven days saw fifty-eight transports take away 184,049 Jews, and from May 28 to June 7, another 175,415 were slaughtered. Finally, between June 6 and June 28, 61,944 more of these defenseless people were rounded up and shipped to the gas chambers, leaving all of Hungary outside of Budapest "judenrein" (free of Jews)—the most devastating mass annihilation of human lives in the history of mankind.

We didn't know all the facts in Turkey, but enough were available to us to realize that time was racing against death. Something had to be done to save the Jewish population of Budapest—approximately a quarter of a million men, women and children.

I turned once again to Gilbert Simond. I pleaded with him to prevail upon his friends in the Catholic Church to help us in the name of humanity.... After a short spell during which I assume Simond made an effort along the lines I had requested, he made a sounder suggestion that we go directly to the Apostolic Delegate of the Church who was then in residence on ... an

island in the Marmora Sea, forty minutes by boat from Istanbul. I jumped at the suggestion and Simond arranged a meeting with the delegate, Angelo Roncalli....

The house of the Pope's highest emissary in the Middle East was a spacious, old-fashioned home sitting high atop a hill.... We were ushered into a well-appointed room where we waited for Roncalli. After a few minutes, a short, rotund man ... entered the room. Good humor was immediately evident in his eyes, twinkling under his black skullcap. Warmly and graciously he welcomed us in Italian, bidding us be seated. As I did, I offered a silent prayer of thanks for the Italian I had learned some years back: it established an easy contact between us.

Once Simond and I were comfortably settled, our host turned to a small cupboard from which he took a bottle of red wine. After admiring its color, he poured out three glasses and insisted on drinking to our health. Anxious about my mission, I discreetly tried to introduce the reason for my visit. But Roncalli brushed me aside, saying, "That will come later. First we must enjoy the view, the conversation and the wine."

His personality was so radiant and his conviviality so genuine that for the moment I let the purpose of my presence escape me. In fact, it wasn't until a second bottle had been downed that he would permit any thought of practical discussion. Then, suddenly, he announced, "Dunque, cominciamo.... Now, let us begin."

Roncalli listened intently as I outlined the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary. I cited the meager statistics available to me and the many eyewitness accounts of underground operatives. As I emphasized each salient point, he nodded sympathetically. Then he pulled his chair up closer and quietly asked, "Do you have any contact with people in Hungary who will cooperate?" After my affirmative reply, he hesitated a

few moments before asking, "Do you think the Jews there would be willing to undergo baptism ceremonies?"

Not prepared for this suggestion, I equivocated a bit and said that I could only guess or assume that if it meant saving their lives they would be ready to do so gratefully. I added, "I know what I would do."

He went on to say that he had reason to believe that some baptismal certificates had already been issued by nuns to Hungarian Jews. The Nazis had recognized these as credentials and had permitted their holders to leave the country.

We agreed that we would communicate with his representatives in Hungary and that I would get in touch with our underground connections to arrange for either large-scale baptism of Jews, or at least certificates to be issued to women and children. It would be up to them to decide later whether they would wish to remain in the Church or "go their way."

• • •

For some unaccountable reason, historians have glossed over this instance of warmth and compassion in a period of violence and hate. In my report to Washington I stated, "For the record, it should be stated that the Catholic hierarchy, which enjoys a large influence in Hungary, took unusual spontaneous measures to rescue Hungarian Jewish citizens wherever possible. This was reported to you in my No. 131, August 12, and related to the baptism of thousands of Hungarian Jews in air-raid shelters, in spite of energetic Nazi protests."

Some years later at a Thanksgiving Day dinner in New York, I was seated next to a woman who spoke with a European accent. When our conversation revealed that she had come from Hungary,

Taken from: Ira Hirschmann, *Caution to the Wind* (New York: David McKay, 1962), pp. 179-185. Used by permission of Ira Hirschmann.

HANDOUT F-5.5 (cont.)

I asked casually if she had known any Jews who had been baptized in Budapest in the last days of the war. Quickly and nervously, with obviously controlled emotion, she said: "I was baptized and saved at the last hour in a bomb-cellar." She went on to describe how the underground in Budapest had given her a certificate of baptism from the Catholic Church which served as her passport for escape from the Nazis to Switzerland and eventually to the United States. Hearing similar stories from many others in the course of the ensuing years has never failed to move me deeply....

Try as I may, I have not been able to ascertain exactly how many Hungarian Jews were saved or had their lives made easier with these baptismal certificates. They must number in the thousands. And all this was due to the kindly intervention of the benevolent Apostolic Delegate to the Middle East. Is it any wonder that I was moved to tears when in 1958 I read the headlines which announced to the world that Angelo Roncalli had been elected Pope, the ruler of the Catholic Church?...

HANDOUT F-5.6

METROPOLITAN ANDREAS SZEPTYCKI

Philip Friedman

Metropolitan Andreas Szeptycki, Archbishop of Lwow, was the titular head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church in Galicia. Born in 1865 of a distinguished Polish Roman Catholic family, he was the son of Count Ivan Szeptycki, a descendant of a Ukrainian aristocratic family that had become Polonized over a long span of time. His mother was the daughter of Count Alexander Fredro, a Polish playwright and political leader. From early youth Alexander Szeptycki was attracted by Ukrainian national ideas. He left the Roman Catholic and Polish milieu of his parents at the age of twenty-three and entered a Uniate (Greek Catholic) monastery, calling himself Andreas. In 1900, he was appointed head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church in Galicia. A trained scholar, author, and Hebraist (he once wrote a letter in Hebrew to a group of Jews petitioning for aid), he was the founder of the Ukrainian Religious Scholarly Society and of a journal. His extensive travels on behalf of Ukrainian political and ecclesiastical groups brought him to the United States in 1921.

He was an old man in 1941 when the Germans spread like the locust over his land. But he rose up with magnificent scorn to castigate the barbarians. His own people he cautioned: "Thou shalt not kill!" When, in November, 1942, the Germans were massacring Galician Jews with the aid of many Ukrainians, Szeptycki threatened with "divine punishment" all individuals who "shed

innocent blood and make of themselves outcasts of human society by disregarding the sanctity of man." He prohibited the rendering of religious services to individuals who embraced the Nazi gospel of murder. After the Rohatyn massacre in which a number of Ukrainians were involved, Szeptycki wrote an indignant letter to Heinrich Himmler protesting the employment of Ukrainian auxiliary police in such actions.

Although the Metropolitan's interventions and pastoral letters failed to dampen the zeal of Ukrainian collaborationists, they made an impact on a great many peasants and workmen as well as on the clergy and intelligentsia. His became the ringing voice of protest. But he did not content himself with words. In his Cathedral Church on the Mountain of St. George in Lwow, Szeptycki hid fifteen Jewish children and several adults, among them Rabbi Dr. David Kahane, who after Liberation was appointed Chief Rabbi of the Polish Army and is now a resident of Israel. On orders of the Metropolitan, 150 Jews, most of them children, were hidden in convents of the Order of the Studites in Eastern Galicia. Among these children was the daughter of Rabbi Kahane, the sons of the martyred Rabbi Dr. Chameides of Kattowitz, and two sons of the rabbi of the great temple on Zolkiewska Street in Lwow, Dr. Yehezkiel Lewin, who was killed by the Germans. One of the "guests," Itzhak Lewin, later wrote a book and several articles describing his experiences in the Studite monastery. Approximately 500 monks and nuns, according to Lewin, had knowledge of the Jews' presence, but there was not one instance of betrayal and none of the Jews fell into Nazi hands.

In his memoirs, Dr. David Kahane describes his first encounter with Metropolitan Szeptycki during the fateful days of August, 1942, when 55,000 Jews in Lwow were slaughtered by the Nazis: "Together with my colleague, Rabbi Dr. Cha-

meides of Kattowitz," Kahane writes, "I decided to go to the Metropolitan and plead with him to save the several hundred Torah scrolls which were stored in the cellars of the Jewish Community building at 12 Berstein Street. Through the good offices of a friend of mine, the priest Dr. Gabriel Kostelnik, we got an appointment and were received by the Metropolitan in his residence at the St. George's in Lwow. The Metropolitan was then an old man of seventy-seven, with a majestic white beard. He was half paralyzed - had been for a decade and lived in a wheel chair. He told us of his indignant letter to Himmler and the latter's rude rebuff, of his pastoral messages to the Ukrainian people warning them against committing murder.... He agreed to store the Torah scrolls and to receive in custody Jewish children, but only girls. Hiding boys, he said, was dangerous, as they were circumcised and could be easily detected. However, he did not rule out the possibility completely and promised to consult his brother, the *ihumen*, Supervisor-General Clement Szeptycki, head and archimandrite of all Ukrainian monasteries.... A half hour later we were received by the *ihumen*, who was only a few years younger than his brother.... The *ihumen* gave us a letter to *ihumine* Josephine, Mother Superior of all nunneries. This was on Friday, August 14, 1942. Sunday morning I went to the convent in Lyczkow at 4 Ubocz Street. Sister Josephine received me warmly and told me of her deep compassion for the suffering of the Jews."

Eventually Dr. Kahane found shelter in the Metropolitan's palace, where he spent almost three years working in the library and giving Hebrew lessons to monks.

Itzhak Lewin tells the following story: "My father was a friend of the Metropolitan. In 1942, when I found that the situation was hopeless, I visited Metropolitan Szeptycki and asked him for

Taken from: Philip Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), pp. 133-136. Reprinted by permission of Holocaust Publications, Inc.

HANDOUT F-5.6 (cont.)

help.... Almost immediately he began a planned campaign to save lives. I spent two years in the monasteries of the Fathers Studites in Lwow, Luzki, and Uniw, in the beginning as a lay worker and, during the final and most dangerous phase of the war, disguised as a monk. Had I been discovered by the Germans, not only I, but all the monks and priests would have been killed.... During one of his visits, the Metropolitan said to me: 'I want you to be a good Jew, and I am not saving you for your own sake. I am saving you for your people. I do not expect any reward, nor do I expect you to accept my faith.'"

Not all of his subordinates who hid Jews followed the Metropolitan's course. Either for reasons of safety or out of a strong missionary zeal, all the hidden children were by the end of 1942 converted to the Greek Catholic faith. After the war only a small number of the children, and only those whose parents or relatives survived, returned to the Jewish fold.

Szeptycki lived to see the Nazis crushed and driven out of his country. He died soon after the Liberation. A petition submitted by Archbishop Ivan Buchko for the beatification of the noble priest has been approved by the Vatican.

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THE ACTIONS OF CHURCH LEADERS TO SAVE LIVES

Greece¹

On 15 March 1944 the German authorities assembled trucks and guards throughout main-

¹ Taken from: Martin Gilbert. *Atlas of the Holocaust* (London: Michael Joseph, 1982), p. 180.

land Greece, and began a systematic search for more than 10,000 Greek Jews. Half were able to flee into the mountains to find shelter with local peasants, to join Greek partisan units, or to escape across the Aegean to neutral Turkey. Many survived as a result of an instruction issued by Archbishop Damaskinos to all monasteries and convents in Athens and the provincial towns to shelter any Jew who knocked on their doors. But over 5,000 Greek Jews were caught, and deported to Auschwitz. It was an eight-day journey in sealed cattle trucks. Hundreds died during the journey itself.

Caritas Catholica²

Considerable aid was given Jews during deportation by the Caritas Catholica, an organization which was founded primarily to help non-Aryan Christians; as time went on, it also extended help to professed Jews, particularly to children. (The Caritas organization had a similar record of helpful assistance in other countries, such as Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.)

In the spring of 1943, the Gestapo, aware of the Caritas activities, arrested its leaders, among them Dr. Gertrude Luckner and Grete Wuensch. Frau Luckner was flung into Ravensbrueck concentration camp, where she was found by the Allies two years later.

Italy

"Six million of my co-religionists have been murdered by Nazis, but there would have been many more victims, had it not been for the efficacious *intervention of Pius XII*". Dr. Raphael Cantoni, hero of Italy's Jewish Assistance Committee.

² Taken from: Philip Friedman. *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library), p. 95. Used by permission of the Holocaust Library, New York, NY.

"Thousands of Jews in Italy owe their lives to Italian citizens of the Catholic Church." (Reuben R. Resnick, Director of the Joint Distribution Committee, as quoted in the *Jerusalem Post*, January 22, 1946).

HANDOUT F-6.1

THE INACTION OF THE GOVERNMENTS

Judah Pilch

In the years 1933-39, when the German government was still mindful of the reaction of the rest of the world, and during the years of the Holocaust (1939-1945), when the slaughter was under way, the mild protests of some statesmen, intellectuals, and clergy notwithstanding, the enlightened world remained, on the whole, silent. These are the facts: More than 2,000,000 Germans were directly connected with the nazi* machinery of destruction, and many more millions profited from the pillage and loot. The masses of the German and Austrian populations **knew** of the anti-Jewish measures. Many were also aware of the ghettos and concentration camps. For a number of years they heard Hitler and his associates employ the terms **Ausrottung** (annihilation) and **Vernichtung** (destruction) when they talked about the Jews. Yet the vast majority of the Germans were silent. It is apparent that the collective conscience of these people changed radically in the 1930's. Nearly every person of German ancestry everywhere in the world became an apologist for the new Hitler policies, and the anti-Semites among them became nazi collaborators. Within the Reich they were willing to conform to all nazi plans. The nazi leadership, in unleashing a propaganda campaign laden with racialism and anti-Semitism, succeeded in fashioning a dehumanized "new nazi man," who was ready to torture the Jew and wipe him off the face of the earth. It is

Taken from: Judah Pilch, editor. *The Jewish Catastrophe in Europe* (New York: The American Association for Jewish Education, 1968), pp. 205-210. Used by permission of the Jewish Education Service of North America, Inc.

*This author does not capitalize the word Nazi.

true that very small segments of the German community did oppose nazi theory and practice. Certain Church leaders were opposed to Hitlerian ideas and deplored the nazi acts in public. Here and there, some pastors made concerted efforts to get Jews out of the country. Scattered groups from among the professionals, working classes and former aristocrats resisted nazi brutality, but by and large the Germans as a people did not protest. For ten years they heard the brownshirted fellow Germans singing: "Wenn das Judenblut vom Messer spritzt, dann geht's noch mal so gut" (When Jewish blood drips from the knife, then things are twice as good), but they did not condemn this bloody slogan of their compatriots. As Dr. Karl Jaspers, the German philosopher, put it at the meeting of the World Jewish Congress held in Brussels in August 1966: "When our Jewish friends were taken away, we did not go down into the street, we did not cry out until we, too, were exterminated. We preferred to remain alive, alleging—truthfully but weakly—that our death would not have made any difference."¹

The attitude to the Holocaust in the occupied countries of the West differed radically. Compassion for the Jews was general throughout western, northern and southeastern Europe. In Belgium deportations were prevented until the summer of 1942. The greater part of the population was opposed to persecution of Jews. Some of the clergy offered refuge to Jewish children. Other citizens helped their Jewish friends. In France some Frenchmen in the non-occupied part helped Jews to hide or to flee the country. The population of Denmark inscribed in its history a glorious page of heroism and self-sacrifice by a well-organized operation in transporting almost 7,000 Jews to Sweden. Other Scandinavian

¹New York Times, August 5, 1966.

countries (Sweden in particular) made heroic efforts to rescue the harassed Jews. In Italy, too, efforts were made to save the Jews from nazi tyranny. Jews found a haven in Hungary until the occupation of the country by the Germans. In Bulgaria, the population as well as the clergy protested against deportation of Jews. In Greece clergymen in high office and many of the officials not only saved individual Jews but also voiced official protests against anti-Jewish measures. But sporadic acts of humanity and of compassion could not prevent the Holocaust.

Notwithstanding the good intentions of people from all walks of life who were shocked by the nazi tyranny and tried to relieve the plight of the Jews, there was even in the West no organized and systematic rescue work, when rescue was still possible, and no mass action against nazi brutalities. The civilized world remained officially content to consider the anti-nazi measures of 1933-1939 as Germany's internal affair. Although the Racial Laws of September 1935 and the **Kristallnacht** of November 9, 1938 left no doubt as to the nazi intentions, for, as a matter of fact, the nazis themselves made no attempt to conceal them, the free world was still "minding its own business." James G. MacDonald, the American High Commissioner for Refugees, who had been appointed by the League of Nations to find havens for the multitudes of refugees streaming out of Germany, resigned from his post two years later because of his inability to find such asylum. In his letter of resignation he called the world's attention to the need either for bringing pressure to bear upon Germany to stop creating refugees, or else for opening the doors of new countries to them. His dramatic gesture proved fruitless.

It is true that President Roosevelt convened a conference, in July 1938, in Evian, at which the need for finding homes for the uprooted was dis-

HANDOUT F-6.1 (cont.)

cussed, but most participating countries were unable to find ways of admitting even part of the helpless refugees. America herself was not prepared to change the national quota system. The French insisted that they could not receive any more Jews. The Swiss complained against "the mass crossing of the borders by Jewish refugees." Britain and Australia admitted some refugees but were reluctant to do more. Admission of Jewish refugees to Palestine, the only country whose Jewish population was willing and ready to find room in their own community for unlimited numbers, was blocked by Britain, the Mandatory Power. The British White Paper of 1939 limited the number of Jewish immigrants to Palestine for the next five years to 15,000 per year.

A year and a half after the outbreak of World War II, reliable news of mass arrests, expulsions and massacres, concentration camps and gas chambers had already reached the governments of the civilized world, yet nothing was done. America was still unwilling to change its immigration laws. Britain was already engaged in the war and, anxious to please the Arabs, adhered to its White Paper of 1939 by refusing admission of Jewish refugees to Palestine. France and other Western countries were struggling to keep alive, and the governments of the free world remained inactive. There was lip service but little action.

A concrete example of the free world's attitude to the Jewish refugee problem was the voyage of the ship *St. Louis* which sailed from Germany on May 13, 1939 with 930 refugees, all of whom had Cuban landing certificates. When they reached Havana, the Cuban authorities did not permit them to land. The American Government refused them admission although they held quota numbers which would have made it possible for them to enter the U.S. three months to three years after their arrival in Cuba. Only

through the efforts of Jewish leaders were these refugees, still on the *St. Louis*, taking them back to Germany, finally admitted to Belgium, the Netherlands, Britain and France.

The *Struma*, packed far beyond capacity with 769 Rumanian Jews, sank in the Bosphorus on February 24, 1943 its fate another indication of the inaction of the civilized world. The *Struma*, which sailed from Rumania towards Palestine, was at sea for 74 days, but no country was willing to admit the helpless victims of Nazi persecution. The agonized plea of its refugees reached the ears of all civilized people during that time, but not their hearts. The British refused to allow them entrance to Palestine; Turkey did not permit them to disembark. Its 769 men, women and children perished in the depths of the sea, just a few miles from Istanbul.

In 1942, both the U.S. Congress and the British House of Commons adopted resolutions condemning Nazi atrocities, but no word was heard about measures to rescue at least part of the doomed people.

Dr. Chaim Weizmann in London urged the bombing of extermination camps, but the Foreign Office replied that "the air staff was compelled, in view of the very great difficulties involved, to refrain from carrying out the proposal. Similar requests to destroy extermination factories were submitted in Washington and received similar treatment. Early in 1944 the Jewish Agency submitted a scheme to the British authorities for the dropping of hundreds of Palestinian Jews by parachute into Hungary.... But after it was approved by all the military authorities concerned and arrangements had been initiated to carry it out, the Foreign and Colonial Offices interfered and, for political reasons, instructed the military authorities to abandon the scheme."⁴

⁴ Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem*, New York, Harper and Row, 1966, p. 244.

Time and again, the question was asked: Why had these two great powers, Britain and the United States, done so little to halt the process of extermination? The answers varied. Some assumed that the great Western powers did not want to threaten the Germans with retaliation lest they be suspected of waging a "Jewish" war. Others maintained that from the vantage point of diplomacy a defense of the Jews would have hindered the plans of invasion. But no sound answer was given to the question about the stubborn British refusal to open the gates of Palestine to Jewish escapees and about the Mandatory Government's practice of imprisoning in detention camps in Cyprus and in Palestine those who reached the shores of the Jewish National Home without bona fide certificates of immigration.

As for the United States, not only did the Government exercise great caution in dealing with Hitler, but it refused to enlarge the quota for Polish nationals in 1939 when Germany overran Poland. Keeping the *status quo*, insofar as the immigration law was concerned, meant that the doors of America remained locked and that appreciable numbers of either Polish Jews or Gentiles could find no refuge in this great country. When the Quakers campaigned in Congress (1939) to bring 20,000 children (Jewish and non-Jewish) to the U.S., the Administration's inaction was largely responsible for its failure. But when, after the fall of France, England was threatened with possible invasion of the Nazis, the U.S. Government quickly issued visas for 10,000 English children. When Jewish leaders negotiated with Rumania and Hungary about the emigration of their Jewish subjects with the view to bringing a considerable number of them to the U.S., the American Government refused to change its policy. As late as August 1, 1942, at a time when about one and a half million European Jews were already dead, the State Department insisted on

HANDOUT F-6.1 (cont.)

verifying the reports submitted by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, then president of the American Jewish Congress, to the effect that the nazis were murdering Jews in Russia and in Poland. Checking the reports took more than three months. In the meantime more Jews perished. Finally, in November 1942, when the reports were confirmed, the U.S. Government joined the other allied nations in a declaration entitled: "German Policy of Extermination of the Jewish Race," issued on December 17, 1942, which stated that the responsible perpetrators should not escape retribution. Although the framers of this declaration were in earnest and were no doubt eager to alleviate Jewish misery, the nazis were hardly impressed with it. This manifestation of good will came too late. By the end of 1942, many more Jews had been liquidated by the nazis. As Rabbi Wise put it in a letter to his friend, Rev. John H. Holmes, in 1943: "It appears to me that both authors, Eden (Prime Minister of England) and Cordell Hull (Secretary of State), have been frozen into immobility."⁵ Nothing of any consequence was undertaken by these two great powers. There was a conference on refugees in Hamilton, Bermuda, on April 19, 1942. Yet neither Great Britain nor the U.S.A. was ready to admit the victims of nazism. It was on June 12, 1944, almost five years after the launching of the extermination program, that the U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt announced in a message* to Congress "that America would bring to its shores 1,000 refugees, mostly women and children, who had escaped to Southern Italy." And once again Rabbi Stephen S. Wise

⁵ *The Personal Letters of Stephen S. Wise*, edited by Justine Wise Polier and James Waterman Wise, Boston, The Beacon Press, 1956.

* This refugee center was established at Oswego, NY. For more information, see: Ruth Gruber, *Haven: The Unknown Story of FDR and 1000 World War II Refugees* (New York: Putnam Publishing Group, 1983).

worked out a secret plan (in 1944) for smuggling out Jews in exchange for bribes to be deposited in Switzerland. Seventy thousand lives could have been saved. Roosevelt gave the plan his full support and Morgenthau backed it immediately. But the State Department now held matters up for months. The British Ministry of Economic Warfare was informed and wrote back saying that "the British Foreign Office is concerned with the difficulty of disposing of any considerable number of Jews should they be released from enemy territory!" ... Ultimately, according to Stephen S. Wise, nothing was done owing to the shocking delay and sabotage ... for five full months after the license had been approved by the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Treasury.

Dr. Wise, one of the staunchest supporters of the Roosevelt administration, sums up the episode:

Let history, therefore, record for all time that were it not for the State Department and Foreign Office bungling and callousness, thousands of lives might have been saved and the Jewish catastrophe partially averted.⁶

Dr. Wise's statements were substantiated in a book titled *While Six Million Died*.⁷ The author, Arthur D. Morse, examined the inaction of the American Government and came to the conclusion that the upright men in the administration of the humanitarian President Roosevelt knew of Hitler's order for the "final solution," knew of the mass executions, but were overcautious to do something about it. Mr. Morse indicts the Government's bureaucratic delays, refusal to try ransom and to revise immigration quotas. Thus, both America and England, through official procrastination, maintained their barriers against any serious rescue attempts.

⁶ Hausner, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

Other great nations were also silent. The Russians were not concerned about the destruction of European Jewry. They signed a Soviet-nazi pact during the short period of friendship between the communists and the nazis. The Russian press and radio ignored the existence of anti-Jewish measures in Greater Germany. As a matter of fact, Russian Jews remained unaware of what was in store for them when the German armies invaded Russia. During the German occupation of Russian territories, as we have seen elsewhere in this volume, many Russians were employed by the nazis to initiate pogroms and help in the process of extermination. It is also a known fact that during the Warsaw Ghetto uprising the Red Army failed to send help to the courageous Jewish fighters.

The people of Afro-Asia and Latin America displayed an attitude of indifference to the Jewish tragedy. Although some refugees were admitted to certain Latin American countries, the population as a whole registered through its government no official protest against nazi barbarities. In the Arab lands the political as well as religious leadership were favorably impressed with nazi actions against the Jews. It is a fact that Haj Amin al Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, a high dignitary of the religion of Islam, was an ardent Hitler collaborator.

⁷ Arthur D. Morse, *While Six Million Died*, New York, Random House, 1967.

HANDOUT F-6.2

PAPER WALLS

David S. Wyman

The 40 months between the Austrian *Anschluss* and the departure of American consular forces from German territory stand out as a vast lost chance. After the *Anschluss* and the Night of Broken Glass, the need for rescue was painfully clear. The world was fully aware, yet relatively little was done.

Estimates show that the American contribution, though limited, went beyond that of any other country, both for the Nazi period as a whole and for the crucial years from 1938 through 1941. From 1933 through 1945, something like 250,000 refugees from Nazism reached safety in the United States. Only Palestine, which received approximately 150,000, approached the American record. During the critical months from early 1938 through mid-1941, some 150,000 refugees entered the United States. About 55,000 found their way into Palestine in that period.

Although the United States led the nations as a refugee haven, American ability to absorb immigration was vastly greater than that of the small European countries or the little-industrialized, though spacious and less populated, areas of Latin America and Africa. Viewed in relation to capacity, the English, Dutch, French, and others in western Europe were far more generous than the United States.

Why did the United States fall short of its potential as a haven for refugees? The outstanding reason was the solidity of the national origins quota system. Had the relevant quotas been com-

pletely filled from the *Anschluss* through Pearl Harbor, some 206,000 persons could have entered the United States, only 50,000 more than the approximate number of refugees who did immigrate in those years. The quota limitations formed by far the most significant bulwark against large-scale American rescue of refugees.

Why, then, were the quotas not widened? The chances for driving liberalized immigration legislation through Congress in the 1930's and early 1940's were virtually nonexistent. Groups which favored a liberal refugee policy believed such efforts would not only be fruitless, but actually might risk greater restriction by Congress. Nevertheless, they launched one major attempt, the Wagner-Rogers Children's Bill, which Congress strangled without allowing it to reach the floor of either house.

Although responsibility for unwillingness to modify the quota system must lie in the first instance with Congress, one has to ask the more basic question of why Congress failed to act. A Gallup poll in early 1939 found only 26 percent approval for possible legislation for entry of 10,000 German refugee children (66 percent opposed; eight percent had no opinion). Certainly Congress had no need to fear that an aroused public would press the issue of rescuing child victims of Nazism. Popular support was still smaller for liberalizing immigration without reference to age. An Opinion Research Corporation poll in March 1938, the month of the Austrian *Anschluss*, found only 17 percent agreeable to admission of "a larger number of Jewish exiles from Germany" (75 percent opposed; eight percent had no opinion). Repeated in November 1938, in the midst of American and world protest against events of the week of Broken Glass, the question drew a slightly increased favorable response of 21 percent (71 percent opposed; eight percent had no opinion). In December 1938, while the No-

vember pogroms were still in the news, a Gallup poll recorded an even more negative popular attitude. Only 8.7 percent favored entry of "a larger number of European refugees than now admitted under our immigration quotas" (80 percent opposed; 8.3 percent had no opinion).

These polls, with their consistently small findings of "no opinion" and their consistently huge majorities against refugee immigration, indicate that more than apathy underlay the American public's attitude toward refugee immigration. Popular hostility toward enlarging the quotas was firmly rooted in social and economic conditions in the United States in the late 1930's and early 1940's. The Great Depression rekindled anti-alien emotions which had run very high in the 1920's. Anti-Semitism, hanging heavy in the atmosphere of the period, intensified resistance to admission of refugees. A decade of economic insecurity coupled with the common belief that each newcomer might put an American out of work generated strong pressures against increased immigration and even posed a threat to existing quotas. By the time unemployment ceased to be a convincing argument against immigration, widespread fear of a fifth column had arisen and buttressed the case against entry of foreigners. These forces, which played upon large segments of the American public, simultaneously flowed through Congress.

The national legislature suffered no shortage of active alien-baiters and harbored many quieter but staunchly dependable nativists. Anti-Semitism surfaced only infrequently on Capitol Hill, but it was certainly present. Congressmen, supersensitive to the unemployment problem, looked askance at any proposal that might possibly worsen that situation. And no group in the nation could hope to outdo Congress on the issue of safeguarding the United States from fifth columnists. The Congressional response to the refu-

Taken from: *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis 1938-1941* by David Wyman. Copyright (c) 1968 by David Wyman. Reprinted by permission of Pantheon Books, a Division of Random House, Inc.

HANDOUT P-6.2 (cont.)

see problem paralleled that of a majority of the American people.

The Roosevelt Administration did not attempt to bypass the law to rescue any sizable number of refugees. Such a move undoubtedly would have been both futile and dangerous; futile because Congress would have moved immediately to block the opening, and dangerous because the restrictionist backlash might well have cut deeply into the quotas themselves. When Roosevelt refused in late 1938 to expel 15,000 refugees who were in the United States on visitors' visas, he was treading the outer limits of Congressional toleration.

Constrained to operate within the quota system, the President did make the quotas fully available to refugee immigration from early 1938 until mid-1940 a period during which approximately 120,000 refugees arrived in the United States. But in June 1940 the State Department halved the refugee flow by shutting off most immigration proceeding directly from Germany and the rest of central and eastern Europe. This move meant that the quotas no longer defined the limits of American policy.

The half-filled quotas of mid-1940 to mid-1941, when refugee rescue remained entirely feasible, symbolize 20,000 to 25,000 lives lost because of the changed American policy. In terms of the need, this is not a large number; it is minute in relation to the five to six million lost in the holocaust. It is tiny compared with what the United States could have done had the quotas been mutable. It is even small when measured against the 250,000 who found a haven from Nazism in the United States. But the value of one life cannot be discounted because it is only one. Nor are 20,000 lives any less important because the number is comparatively small.

Why did Franklin Roosevelt, who definitely

was aware of the new policy, permit it to stand? There is no direct evidence of the President's thinking on the matter. Fear of subversion certainly was involved. Furthermore, the months which were crucial in the reformulation of refugee policy were also months when Roosevelt's attention was primarily occupied by the collapse of France and the ordeal of Great Britain. Whether for this or for some other reason, Roosevelt left refugee policy almost entirely to the State Department, which in effect meant to Assistant Secretary Breckinridge Long. With such a responsibility, a skilled administrator possessed of deep sensibilities for human values would have been sorely tested to strike a balance between those values and essential national interests. Long was not a man of that caliber. Generally suspicious of foreigners, he was determined to exclude immigrants who might conceivably turn out to be spies or to be subject to pressure from the German or Russian governments. He may have succeeded in keeping infiltration of foreign agents to a minimum but if he did, his accomplishment came at a high price.

The actual seriousness of the threat posed to American security by refugee immigration must remain unknown for the time being because relevant government files are closed. Time and again Long alluded to knowledge of numerous cases of spies disguised as refugees. But the few specific examples which appear in available records are not convincing and indicate that the Administration could have controlled the problem by much less severe means than it employed.

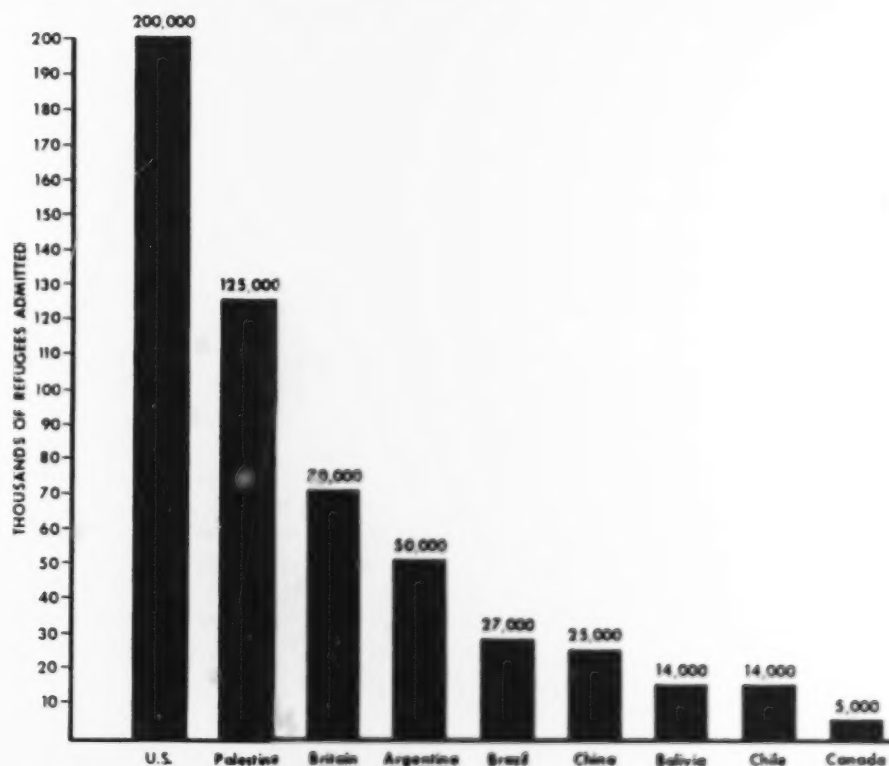
In the overall picture, the State Department compiled a dismal record. It discouraged or actively opposed virtually all efforts for a more generous American policy, from the Wagner-Rogers Bill to proposals to settle refugees in Alaska and the Virgin Islands. It obstructed the emergency visa program for political refugees. And it toler-

ated consuls whose anti-alien, anti-Semitic, and politically conservative attitudes influenced their decisions in visa cases.

But again, what can be said of the President who assumed the State Department nearly free rein in refugee affairs? Franklin D. Roosevelt played an ambiguous role in the refugee crisis. Sympathetic toward victims of Nazi terror, he opened the quotas to full use in 1938, reversing a depression policy of minimum immigration inherited from the Hoover Administration. Later in the year he granted long-term asylum to 15,000 fugitives then in the country on temporary visas. These moves substantially helped refugees. But they drew sharp fire from restrictionists and Roosevelt did not venture forth again. He consistently disclaimed any plans for widening the quotas, preferring to shift the issue to the politically safe level of encouraging tropical or semitropical settlements for refugees. He refused in 1939 to take a stand on the bill to admit 20,000 German children. Convinced by May 1940 that Nazi fifth column tactics threatened the nation, he accepted the State Department's stringent tightening of immigration that summer and concurred in its nearly prohibitive screening procedures of July 1941.

One may level the finger of accusation at Franklin Roosevelt for having done so little and at Congress for having done nothing. But the accuser will find himself simultaneously pointing at the society which gave American refugee policy its fundamental shape. Like the President, the majority of Americans condemned Nazi persecution. But most opposed widening the gates for Europe's oppressed. Viewed within the context of its times, United States refugee policy from 1938 to the end of 1941 was essentially what the American people wanted.

National Responses To Jewish Refugees 1933 - 1945



Figures taken from: Harold Troper and Irving Abella. *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933- 1948* (New York: Random House, 1982).

HANDOUT F7

WHEN JEWS WERE KILLED, WHY WERE AMERICANS SILENT?

Arthur J. Goldberg
Arthur Hertzberg

(Special to the **Los Angeles Times**)

Over the past few years a new generation of historians and Jewish activists has raised troubling questions about what they charge was the failure of American Jewish organizations to do enough to promote the rescue of Jews from Nazi-occupied Europe.

In 1981, a privately convened panel of distinguished Jewish Americans, the American Jewish Commission on the Holocaust, undertook a review of the historical record. Its findings, which were issued in draft form last week, already have stirred controversy. In the following article, the panel's chairman, former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, and a member of the commission, Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, professor of history at Columbia University, summarize the group's major conclusions.

The Holocaust, the genocidal murder of 6 million Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, is a crime with which the conscience of the West, and especially of the Jews themselves, has not yet come to terms. Many have charged that the Western powers did not do enough to save more Jews from Hitler. This accusation has been hurled with particular passion against the Jewish leaders of that era, especially those in the United States.

We cannot begin to deal with this question without emphasizing that even if the policies

now suggested in hindsight had been followed by the Allied governments and the Jewish leadership, inside and outside Nazi-occupied Europe, the most reliable estimates are that perhaps one-half million might have escaped extermination. Even if that number is doubled, the fact remains that 5 million Jews were irretrievably in the grasp of the Nazi murder machine.

Still, the saving of hundreds of thousands is a matter of profound moral import, and the argument is about whether the means to do that were adequately exploited.

All of the people who now stand accused of not having done enough—the heads of the Allied governments, the churches, especially the Vatican, and, certainly the leaders of the Jews in the Free World—knew the facts about the Nazi extermination of the Jews.

The question of responsibility must, however, be divided into two parts: the conduct of this leadership before the outbreak of the war, when doors which were partly or completely shut still could have been opened, and the policies pursued during the war, when the options were far more limited.

During the 1930s and even into the first months of the war, it could be believed that Nazi policies toward the Jews represented the revival of medieval persecutions and pogroms, which the large majority of Jews usually had survived. It was only at the high point of Nazi success in World War II, during the invasion of the Soviet Union, that the unprecedented policy of genocide began.

In that prewar period every Jewish community in the free countries worked to absorb refugees and to make it possible for more to come, but nowhere was this made into an issue of all-out confrontation between Jewish leaders and their governments.

Everywhere, including America, organized la-

bor was less than lukewarm toward new immigration. The lingering economic depression made it a bad period in which to argue for additions to the American population, especially since U.S. anti-Semitism was rising.

Then, as now, organized Jewry was far from monolithic. The American Jewish Committee spoke for the richest elements in American Jewry, those who had been in the country longest and were most assimilated into American life. B'nai B'rith was more middle-class, but it shared with the committee a primary concern for the integration of Jews into American society and a sensitivity to a threat of domestic anti-Semitism.

The American Jewish Congress was more internationalist. Most of its members were fairly recent immigrants, or their children, with close emotional ties to European Jewry; they displayed a far greater willingness to "go public" on Jewish issues. They were not bound, like the American Jewish Committee and B'nai B'rith, to a policy of quiet intervention in Washington.

On the left and right were two dissimilar and much less influential groups. One, the Jewish Labor Committee, was essentially a Yiddish-speaking group of first-generation immigrants, in close touch with their peers in the Jewish labor movement in Poland. The most religiously orthodox elements in American Jewry were organized in Agudath Israel, which created its own rescue operation in the early days of the war. Its leaders were mostly very recent refugees from Europe, who regarded themselves as people whom providence had cast up on American shores for the sole purpose of helping their endangered brethren.

During World War I, American Jewry's various factions had united in the creation of an overseas relief agency, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. This body worked in Europe throughout World War II, first from France and

Taken from: Arthur J. Goldberg and Arthur Hertzberg, "When Jews Were Killed, Why Were Americans Silent?" *Albany Times-Union*, Albany, NY, March 25, 1984, p. B-7. Reprinted by permission of Arthur J. Goldberg.

HANDOUT F7 (cont.)

after its fall, from neutral Portugal. In those days, however, its board was dominated by the wealthier and more "American" elements of U.S. Jewry.

Thus, its policy was not to do anything in wartime that the American government would not officially countenance. The possibilities that were offered of sending food packages or money to Jews living under Nazi occupation, or, more dramatically still, of bribing Nazis or their collaborators to look away as Jews escaped, were not lawful under American statutes governing trade with the enemy – and the Joint Distribution Committee obeyed the law.

One other group figured strikingly in this picture, though it was not, strictly speaking, an American group. Several young Palestinian Jews headed by Hillel Kook, who had renamed himself Peter Bergson, arrived in the United States in the early days of the war as representatives of Revisionist Zionism, the party of which the young Menachem Begin was leader in Poland.

This handful created a bewildering variety of organizations in the cause of the "national liberation of the Jews in Palestine," which they believed could be achieved primarily by direct action.

By the middle of the war, the "Bergson Boys" had turned their attention to the plight of European Jewry. Their Hebrew Committee for National Liberation, and its later offshoots, did not rescue anyone, but its public outcry was the most strident of all.

Pressure from the Bergson group was a factor in the American government's decision in 1944 to create the War Refugee Board. That board was permitted to ignore provisions of laws against trading with the enemy and was instrumental in saving tens of thousands of Jews.

Nonetheless, the major factor in its formation

was the pressure on President Franklin D. Roosevelt by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr., who had become increasingly persuaded that the State Department was obstructionist and increasingly outraged, as the facts about the destruction of European Jewry kept mounting.

Since it is incontrovertible that American Jewish leaders, like the British and American officials to whom they had to appeal, knew from the beginning what was going on in Nazi-occupied Europe, why was so little done?

Despite his oft-proclaimed Zionism, Winston Churchill had his mind on other things during the war, and he allowed the Jewish question to be dealt with by subordinates, who wished to prevent the immigration of more Jewish refugees into Palestine. For his part, Roosevelt chose not to make persecution of Jews a central issue because he feared it would erode support for the war effort.

But Roosevelt and Churchill were the central figures whom Jewish leaders in the Free World had to persuade to act. And, in fact, repeated approaches were made to both, and especially to Roosevelt, by delegation after delegation. The questions are, therefore, whether these delegations pressed hard enough and whether they mounted sufficient public outcry to lend force to their demands.

The answer to both questions is that they did not, certainly not by the standards of today, when the Jewish community in America is much freer and more powerful than it was before and during World War II. Jews were afraid that the isolationists and the American Nazis would succeed in persuading the country that this was "Rosenfeld's War."

The more "American" the Jewish leaders were, the more they worried about the future of the Jews in America itself, the more they tended to

take the route of private persuasion rather than public outcry.

The core of the issue of responsibility can thus be clearly defined. The British and the American governments were essentially immovable. They did not want to deal with a specifically Jewish issue during the war, even though at least some leaders in both governments knew all the facts about the slaughter. In the face of this, even if the American Jewish organizations had not been factionalized, underfinanced and too cautious, could they have done better?

Our answer is: They should have but they could not. Of course, world Jewry and especially, the American Jews, the only major community relatively untouched by the war, should have raised an outcry, day after day, that would have pierced the prevailing indifference. Certainly it was the moral obligation of this community not to continue with "business as usual."

G. Judgment, Justice and Survivors

Statement of Purpose:

This section deals with the unique problems faced at the end of World War II. Judgment was demanded for perpetrators whose crimes had not yet been defined, and justice was sought for those people who emerged from the camps and from their hiding places.

The world was unprepared to deal with these survivors. No precedent existed for judging the perpetrators. And, since most of the surviving victims had lost their families, homes, and statehoods, resolving their problems was difficult.

Objectives:

- Students will analyze the nature of war crimes;
- Students will consider the complexities of determining responsibility;
- Students will explain what happened after the war to the Nazi leadership;
- Students will appreciate the conditions of the survivors at the war's end;
- Students will determine what happened to the survivors.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Handout G-1 provides a brief introduction to the Nuremberg Trials conducted after World War II. If possible, show the filmstrip, *Judgment at Nuremberg* (3 parts, 20 minutes each, Anti-Defamation League), which is based on the film version. The film, *Judgment at Nuremberg* (186 minutes, 16mm, b/w, United Artists), might be used in place of the filmstrip to provide a fictionalized account of the trial of Nazi war criminals. A simulation of the Nuremberg Trial is available from the Social Studies School Service, 10,000 Culver Blvd., P.O. Box 802, Culver City, CA 90230.

After students have read the material in Handout G-1, you might plan a classroom role play activity. Assign roles in advance and have students use Handout G-1 to prepare materials appropriate to their roles, e.g., indictments, briefs, and autobiographies. Set aside one or more days for the actual trial and one day for the debriefing.

Tasks:

- Written report: Assume the role of one of the participants in the Nuremberg Trial judge, prosecutor, defendant. Prepare a statement defending your point of view.

Prepare written responses to the following questions:

- Under what laws or moral codes may a defeated nation be tried?
- Can the leaders of victorious nations try leaders of defeated nations when the actions of the victors were also questionable?

Prepare a ruling on the following appeal to the verdicts:

"My conviction is invalid because the acts I committed were not against the laws of my own nation."

- Have students read Handout G-2 and respond to the following:
 - What reasons are given for the Eichmann trial?
 - What defense tactics were used by Eichmann?
 - How did Hausner deal with Eichmann's contention that he was always acting under orders?

"I was only following orders" was the rationale for many of the not guilty pleas offered in the trials that followed the war.

Have students refer to the concept of obedience to authority as they discuss this rationale for criminal action.

Have students consider the following:

Eichmann was tried by a government that did not exist when his crimes were committed and he was kidnapped by Israeli agents in order to stand trial.

- How did these facts influence the verdict?
- Why was the trial so important for Israel?
- Was this trial an act of justice or of vengeance?

Students might also view the film, *Verdict for Tomorrow* (28 minutes, b/w, Anti-Defamation League), a documentary about the trial in 1961 in Jerusalem.

- Handout G-3 presents a reader comment about the possible release of Rudolf Hess, age 90, from Spandau Prison in Germany. Hess, not to be confused with Rudolf Hoess who was hanged in Poland, served as Hitler's deputy fuehrer. His case and the call for his release due to his age and health renew the controversies linked to other cases of Nazi war criminals and collaborators. Students should consider the arguments made by the Holocaust survivors who call for continued prosecution of war criminals and of those who collaborated with the Nazis in the occupied nations.

After students have read Handout G-3, ask them to discuss the following questions:

- Who is Rudolf Hess and what was his role in the Final Solution?
- Why does the author want to keep Hess in prison?
- What are the arguments for releasing Hess?
- How do you think the United States should treat Nazi war criminals living here?

Students might research the accounts of war

crimes trials in the other nations in Europe. Have students focus on the following questions:

- How were the charges different from those at Nuremberg?
- How were collaborators treated by their own nations?

For more comprehensive information about collaboration and Nazi war criminals living in the United States, have students consult:

Charles R. Allen. *America's Nazi War Criminals: A History, A Documentation—And an Indictment* (In press).

Howard Blum. *Wanted! The Search for Nazis in America* (New York: New York Times Books, 1977).

Beate Klarsfeld. *Wherever They May Be* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1975).

Rochelle Saidel. *The Outraged Conscience: Seekers of Justice for Nazi War Criminals in America*. (New York: SUNY Press, 1984).

Simon Wiesenthal. *The Murderers Among Us: The Wiesenthal Memoirs* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

- By the war's end, there were more than 60 million Europeans who had been uprooted from their homes. Hundreds of thousands found their way into the displaced persons camps which had been set up by the United Nations and the Allied Armies. Others were fortunate enough to return to their countries of origin. By mid-1946, there were less than 3 million Jews left in Europe. More than 150,000 were in the D.P. Camps. Most of these people could not, or would not, return to their towns of origin. This section examines their state at war's end, their resettlement, their need for a national homeland, and the experiences of some who have made new lives here in the United States. Have students read "Let Her Cry It Out" by Gerda Klein. (Handout G-4.1) Discuss the following questions:

-Why was being addressed as "lady" the important thing that remained in her mind?

-What was the physical condition of Gerda at this time?

Have students read the interview with Dr. Flora Hogman. Ask students to consider what impacts the Holocaust has had on the children who survived.

If possible, invite a Holocaust survivor to speak to the class. The best candidate might be a relative of one of the students or a neighbor or a friend's relative.

First, the survivor should be asked "tenderly" if he or she would want to help in teaching the Holocaust and want to be interviewed by the teacher.

The next step could be to prepare, with the students, a list of questions, coordinated with what the teacher knows about the survivor.

Questions might include the following:

- Where did you live when the Nazis came to power? How old were you?
- Did you have a family? Who were they?
- What was your schooling and occupation?
- When were you first aware of Nazism?
- How did it affect you? Your family?
- Were you put in a ghetto or another place of confinement?
- How was life there? What could you take with you?
- When were you separated from your family?
- What kind of work did you do in the Ghetto or concentration camp?
- Were you tortured? Hungry? Exhausted? Sick?
- Do you have a number on your forearm?
- Tell us about "liberation day."
- Did you find any of your relatives alive?
- Did you try to go back to your city or village?
- How did you come to the United States? Why?

-Are you still haunted by your memories or have you found peace?

-Do you think that your children suffered because of your experiences?

-What did you do for a living when you first came to the United States?

- After the war, the German government instituted a system of payment for the suffering caused by the Nazis. Some of those eligible refused to accept these reparations. The poem in Handout G-5 expresses the feelings of one such person.

Have students read Handout G-5 and respond to the following questions:

-How does the author view the German government's attempt to pay reparations?

-What does the author suggest about the value of human life?

-How has the Holocaust made victims even of those who survived the crematoria?

-The literal translation of the German term "Weidergutmachung" is "making good again." How does this action differ from reparations? Check the dictionary for the definition.

- Have students prepare reports on West Germany's policy of reparations. Contact offices of the Federal Republic of Germany for information about:
 - the methods used to determine eligibility
 - the numbers and nationalities of recipients
 - the amounts given
 - the distribution of funds in instances in which there were no survivors in the families
- Have students research one of the following:
 - (1) Conditions in the displaced persons camps
 - (2) Post-war immigration policies of the United States and Great Britain (Palestine)
 - (3) Treatment received by those who returned to their country of origin

HANDOUT G-1

TRIALS OF WAR CRIMINALS

In 1945 and 1946, an International Tribunal met in Nuremberg, Germany, to try the former Nazi leaders. For the first time in history, legal proceedings were instituted against the leaders of a conquered enemy nation.

The charges:

- Conspiracy
- Crimes Against Peace: e.g., planning, preparation, initiation, or waging of a war of aggression.
- War Crimes: e.g., violations of international laws or customs of war.
- Crimes Against Humanity: e.g., murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against the civilian population.

Of the first 22 who were tried, 3 were acquitted, 7 received prison terms, and the others were sentenced to death. In addition to these trials, many other war criminals were tried in the individual zones of occupation. Rudolf Hoess, commandant at Auschwitz, was tried and executed in Poland. In 1961 Adolf Eichmann was tried in Israel. Other war criminal trials took place in Germany and other nations as well.

JUDGMENT AT NUREMBERG

In 1945 Nazi leaders were tried for their involvement in Germany's master plan to dominate Europe and exterminate the Jews.

Bald, bullet-headed Julius Streicher glared at his accusers from the prisoner's dock in the crowded Nuremberg courtroom.

"They are crucifying me now. I can tell," he said. "Three of the judges are Jews. I know be-

cause I can recognize blood. Three of them get uncomfortable when I look at them. I can tell. I've been studying race for 20 years. I'm an authority on that subject...."

Streicher had, indeed, been regarded as an authority by Adolf Hitler. And as one of Hitler's leading advocates of racial hate during the years of Nazi rule in Germany, he had done much to spark the bitterness that led to the wholesale murder of more than 12 million men, women, and children—half of them Jews.

Nazi leaders, exploiting long-standing anti-Jewish feelings, had blamed the Jewish people for Germany's humiliating defeat in World War I and for the economic depression that followed.

Now, in November of 1945, Germany lay defeated by the United States, England, the Soviet Union, France and their Allies. Hitler and some of his aides were dead. Streicher and 21 others were captured by the Allies and were facing trial before an international tribunal in the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg, Germany.

They stood accused not only of the murder of millions of Jews but also of "aggressive war" and a "master plan" to rule other nations by force and terror.

With Streicher were such Nazi leaders as Hermann Goering, former German air force chief; Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hitler's foreign minister; Alfred Jodl, army chief of staff; and Nazi political leaders, such as Rudolf Hess and Hans Frank...men whom an American prosecutor called "living symbols of racial hatreds, of terrorism and violence, and of the arrogance and cruelty of power."

The trial of these men was to become a model for later trials of about 10,000 other Germans.

Throughout the war, as reports of Nazi atrocities mounted, the Allies promised that Germans

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would be held accountable for war crimes, and this became a major goal.

With victory, war-weary peoples of the world demanded swift action against war criminals. "Line them up and shoot them" was a common suggestion. "No, shooting is too good for them," others insisted. And some suggested cynically that captured Nazi leaders should be held for the sake of justice and so that the deeds of Nazi Germany might be fully documented and permanently recorded for the world.

United States Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, Chief American Prosecutor, had outlined the scope and purposes of the trials in a report to President Roosevelt months earlier: "Our case against the major defendants is concerned with the Nazi master plan, not with individual barbarities and perversions which occurred independently of any central plan. The grounds of our case must be...authentic and constitute a well-documented history of what we are convinced was a grand, concerted pattern to incite and commit the aggressions and barbarities which have shocked the world...."

An agreement signed in London on August 8, 1945, by representatives of the four powers defined the crimes falling under the Tribunal's jurisdiction:

1. Conspiracy: Leaders, organizers, instigators, and accomplices in the formulation or execution of a common plan, or conspiracy, to commit any of the following crimes are responsible for all acts performed by any persons in execution of such plan.
2. Crimes Against Peace: Planning and waging a war of aggression or a war in violation of international agreements....
3. War Crimes: Violations of the laws or customs of war, including murder, mistreatment or enslavement of civilians in occu-

HANDOUT G-1 (cont.)

pied territories or at sea, mistreatment of prisoners of war, and destruction of public or private property not justified by military necessity.

4. Crimes Against Humanity: Murder, mistreatment, enslavement, or deportation of civilians before and during the war; also, political, racial, or religious persecutions, whether or not in violation of domestic law of the country where it was practiced. (War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity overlap.)

Eight judges were to try the Nazis—two judges from each of the four Allied powers. (None of them was Jewish, as Streicher charged.)

Days before Streicher's emotional and bitter outburst, Justice Jackson had presented a more objective view of the proceedings in his opening statement for the United States.

While the world press watched and listened, while interpreters sat ready to feed the microphones with German, French, Russian, and English versions of the proceedings, Justice Jackson began:

"The privilege of opening the first trial in history for crimes against the peace of the world imposes a grave responsibility. The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated, so malignant, and so devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated. That four great nations, flushed with victory and stung with injury, stay the hand of vengeance and voluntarily submit their captive enemies to the judgment of the law is one of the most significant tributes that Power ever has paid to Reason.

"This inquest represents the practical effort of four of the most mighty of nations, with the support of fifteen more, to utilize

International Law to meet the greatest menace of our times—aggressive war. The common sense of mankind demands that law shall not stop with the punishment of petty crimes by little people. It must also reach men who possess themselves of great power and make deliberate and concerted use of it to set in motion national evils which leave no home in the world untouched....

"In the prisoner's dock sit twenty-odd broken men. Reproached by the humiliation of those they have led almost as bitterly as by the desolation of those they have attacked, their personal capacity for evil is forever past. It is hard now to perceive in these miserable men as captives of power by which as Nazi leaders they once dominated much of the world and terrified most of it. Merely as individuals, their fate is of little consequence to the world.

"What makes this inquest significant is that these prisoners represent sinister influences that will lurk in the world long after their bodies have returned to dust. They are living symbols of racial hatreds, of terrorism and violence, and of the arrogance and cruelty of power. They are symbols of fierce nationalism and of militarism, of intrigue and war-making which have embroiled Europe generation after generation, crushing its manhood, destroying its homes, and impoverishing its life. They have so identified themselves with the philosophies they conceived and with the forces they directed that any tenderness to them is a victory and an encouragement to all the evils which are attached to their names. Civilization can afford no compromise with the social forces which would gain renewed strength if we deal ambiguously or indecisively with the men in whom those forces now precariously survive.

"What these men stand for we will patiently and temperately disclose. We will give you undeniable proofs of incredible events.... They took from the German people all those dignities and freedoms that we hold natural and inalienable rights in every

human being. The people were compensated by inflaming and gratifying hatreds toward those who were marked as 'scapegoats.' Against their opponents, including Jews, Catholics, and free labor, the Nazis directed such a campaign of arrogance, brutality, and annihilation as the world has not witnessed since the pre-Christian ages. They excited the German ambition to be a 'master race,' which, of course, implies serfdom for others. They led their people on a mad gamble for domination. They diverted social energies and resources to the creation of what they thought to be an invincible war machine. They overran their neighbors. To sustain the 'master race' in its war-making, they enslaved millions of human beings and brought them into Germany, where these helpless creatures now wander as displaced persons."

For the next 15 weeks the Allied prosecutors presented evidence against the accused. Most of the evidence consisted of official documents, movies, and photographs confiscated from German files. The evidence weighed tons and filled several trucks.

The American prosecutor, seeking to prove that Germany had planned a war of aggression, quoted from Hitler's own words to his advisers: "There is no question of sparing Poland, and we are left with the decision: to attack Poland at the first suitable opportunity."

Charging that Nazi organizations had carried out the plan, the American counsel said: "They fabricated the border incidents which Hitler used as an excuse for attacking Poland...." (Concentration camp inmates were dressed in Polish uniforms and forced to "attack" a German radio station at Gleiwitz. The Germans mowed them down and displayed the bodies to the press as "proof" of the attack.)

Then one afternoon the Allied prosecutor showed a film of concentration camps at the time they fell into Allied hands. In these camps, mil-

HANDOUT G-1 (cont.)

lions of prisoners were killed or made to perform slave labor.

An observer, Gerald Dikler, described the film:

"The cameras coursed slowly over the mounds of hollow-cheeked corpses left behind in the final rout, the bones of inmates hastily buried alive, the gaping mouths of the still- warm crematorium ovens, the bales of human hair consigned to patriotic German bedding, the lampshades made of human skin."

The defendants who had been jovial in the morning, suddenly had a change of mood—described by a prison psychiatrist:

"Fritzche (who had not seen any part of the film before) already looks pale and sits aghast as it starts with scenes of prisoners burned alive in a barn.... Keitel wipes brow, takes off headphones.... Hess glares at screen, looking like a ghoul with sunken eyes over the footlamp.... Keitel puts on headphone, glares at screen out of the corner of his eye.... von Neurath has head bowed, doesn't look.... Funk covers his eyes, looks as if he is in agony, shakes his head.... Ribbentrop closes his eyes, looks away.... Sauckel mops brow.... Frank swallows hard, blinks eyes, trying to stifle tears.... Fritzche watches intensely with knitted brow, cramped at the end of his seat, evidently in agony.... Goring keeps leaning on balustrade, not watching most of the time, looking droopy.... Hess keeps looking bewildered...piles of dead are shown in a slave labor camp.... Goring looks sad, leaning on elbow.... Sauckel shudders at picture of Buchenwald crematorium oven...as human skin lampshade is shown, Streicher says 'I don't believe that'.... Goring coughing.... Attorneys gasping.... Now Dachau.... Schacht still not looking.... Frank nods his head bitterly and says, 'Horrible.' ... British officer starts to speak, saying he has already buried 17,000 corpses.... Ribbentrop sitting with

pursed lips and blinking eyes, not looking at screen.... Funk crying bitterly, claps hand over mouth as women's naked corpses are thrown into pit.... Keitel and Ribbentrop look up at mention of tractor clearing corpses, see it, then hang their heads.... Streicher shows signs of disturbance for first time.... Film ends.

"After the showing of the film, Hess remarks, 'I don't believe it.' Goring whispers to him to keep quiet.... Streicher says something about 'perhaps in the last days.' Fritzche retorts scornfully: 'Millions? In the last days? No.' Otherwise there is a gloomy silence as the prisoners file out of the courtroom."

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The Defense: 'No Crime Without a Law'

Handling the defense of the accused was a battery of attorneys, selected by the prisoners from the best German lawyers, judges, and professors—including a few Nazis. Their collective talent was reduced somewhat by their unfamiliarity with the adversary system of criminal trials prevailing at Nuremberg. Patterned on the Anglo-American tradition, this procedure centers on a duel between rival advocates, refereed from the bench—in contrast to European trials, which take the form of investigations conducted by the judges with the assistance of counsel. However, with the passage of time, the defense attorneys adjusted themselves to the system and handled themselves skillfully.

In opening the prosecution's case, Justice Jackson had emphasized a "master plan" that directed all the defendants and all the Nazi organizations toward their criminal deeds. But the defense counsel challenged the idea of a conspiracy. The typical line of dissent was offered by Herr Jahrreiss, one of Goring's lawyers:

"The Prosecution is based upon the completion of a conspiracy to conquer the world on the part of a few dozen criminals.... But the Fuehrer Principle has...been the organizational guiding principle in the development of the Reich constitution after 1933.... Now in a state in which the empire power to make final decisions is concentrated in the hands of a single individual, the orders of this one man are absolutely binding on the members of the hierarchy.... An order by the Fuehrer was binding—and indeed legally—on the person to whom it was given, even if the directive was contrary to international law or to other traditional values.... If such a conspiracy (to commit crimes against peace, usages of war, and humanity) had existed, then Hitler would have been...the leader of these conspirators. But it has already been emphasized that a conspiracy headed by a dictator is a contradiction in itself.... Hitler was an autocrat. He was not concerned with the approval of these men, but merely with having his decision executed.... The concept of conspiracy belongs to the sphere of Anglo-American law...and is entirely unknown to German law.... May a criminal procedure, bent upon realizing justice, employ legal concepts which are...utterly alien to the defendants and to the legal trend of thought of their people?...

As a further criticism, the Prosecutors...want to punish...the conspirators for individual actions they did not participate in...Article 6 of the Charter (establishing the Tribunal) says that all conspirators are responsible for any action committed by any one of the conspirators 'in execution of such plan.' These are the decisive words for the interpretation. In my opinion, the meaning of these words is as follows: The other conspirators are also responsible for any actions of their comrades forming part of the common plan which they helped to conceive, desired, or at least condoned.... A legal principle extending the fellow conspirator's responsibility to actions not included in their common responsibility is alien to German law. Whether or not it be-

HANDOUT G-1 (cont.)

longs to Anglo-American law, the application of such a principle in the present trial would make punishable, acts which heretofore could not be punished. This would clearly contradict the rule of *nullem crimen sine lege* (no crime without a law.)"

Defense lawyers also challenged the responsibility of a government official or a general for the actions of others or even for his own actions in a state ruled by an absolute dictator. One of the accused prisoners, Alfred Jodl, the former German army chief of staff, was defended by his counsel, Dr. Exener, in the following terms:

"The decision to start the war was far removed from his influence.... If Hitler had extensive plans right from the start, Jodl did not know of them, let alone consent to them.... Every time a campaign had been resolved upon, he did indeed do his bit to carry it out successfully.... It is true that without his generals Hitler could not have waged the wars.... If the generals do not do their job, there is not war. But one must add: If the infantryman does not, if his rifle does not fire...there is no war. Is, therefore, the soldier, the gunsmith...guilty of complicity in the war...? Does Henry Ford share in the responsibility for the thousands of accidents which his cars cause every year?"

The defense filed a joint objection against Count Two of the indictment concerning Crimes Against Peace in violation of international treaties and assurances. The defense contended that planning and waging aggressive war had never before been considered a crime. Even the League of Nations, which had been created to prevent wars, had only condemned aggressive states as violators of international law. It had never thought of putting on trial the statesmen, generals and industrialists of those states.

For the prosecution to indict German leaders under Count Two, the defense argued, was to

hold them guilty for actions that at the time were not regarded as criminal acts. In effect, the Allies were changing the law after the so-called crime had been committed. Such a policy, the defense concluded, "is repugnant to a principle of jurisprudence sacred to the civilized world."

Defense lawyers challenged the notion that aggressive war was recognized as an international crime. They declared that although the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which Germany had signed, condemned war "as an instrument of national policy," the pact did not specifically state that international aggression was a criminal act, nor did it set up courts to try aggressors.

Counsel for Von Ribbentrop said: "All...plans for outlawing war during the period between the First and Second World Wars remained mere drafts...because practical politics would not follow these moral postulates." The defense contended, therefore, that the Kellogg-Briand Pact was meaningless, as a mechanism for punishing aggressors.

Count Three and Four were handled together at the trials. The category "Crimes Against Humanity" was new, extending international law to cover offenses not anticipated in earlier definitions of war crimes. Crimes against humanity included German citizens during the war, even though these acts did not violate the laws of the Nazi state itself.

This last provision aroused the defense lawyers to protest again that the prosecution was making retroactive law. They said that since Nazi law permitted policies such as the extermination of political or racial groups, the Tribunal had no right to punish the defendants later.

Then the defense argued: Was it fair to judge German leaders by standards that the Allies themselves had violated? What about the Allied airmen who bombarded German cities to terrorize civilians? Alfred Jodl spoke bitterly of the an-

nihilation of women and children by the machine guns of low-flying Allied pilots. He complained that the Canadians had bound prisoners with ropes that ran around their necks, down their backs, and around their legs, resulting in some prisoners being strangled. Goring described the Allied shooting of German planes marked with a Red Cross.

But the Tribunal refused to accept evidence or arguments comparing Allied and Nazi conduct in the war. When one defendant mentioned that the prewar military training of youth in the U.S.S.R. far exceeded Germany's program, the Court rebuked him for making "an irrelevant comparison." At one point the Tribunal explained: "We are not trying whether any other powers have committed breaches of international law, or crimes against humanity, or war crimes; we are trying whether these defendants have."

Defense lawyers then argued that the Tribunal had no authority to hold the defendants individually responsible.

Counsel for Von Ribbentrop, the former foreign minister, argued: "...when informed of imminent War Crimes, he did what was in his power to prevent execution of Allied prisoners.... It would be unjust to hold a foreign minister with limited authority responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity, the more so as it has been conclusively proved that he was excluded from any influence on the conduct of the war."

Several of the defense counsels for German military leaders pointed out that the notion of individual responsibility was especially inappropriate in the military sphere. For example, Dr. Exener (representing Alfred Jodl) gave examples to show the impossibility, especially during wartime, of permitting military commanders to question the orders or judgment of political leaders.

HANDOUT G-1 (cont.)

The Prosecution's Rebuttal

Defense objection to the charge of individual responsibility of the accused had been answered in advance by two sections of the Charter establishing the Tribunal. The first rejected pleas based on "acts of state," or the principle that an individual is not responsible for actions that he commits while serving as a government official. The second section rejected pleas based on the principle that an individual is not punishable for actions carried out on orders from a higher official. Jackson explained why the Allies had decided ahead of time to rule out such pleas:

"Of course the idea that a state, any more than a corporation, commits crimes is a fiction. Crimes always are committed only by persons.... The Charter recognizes that one who has committed criminal acts may not take refuge in superior orders nor in the doctrine that his crimes were acts of state. These twin principles working together have heretofore resulted in immunity for practically everyone concerned in the really great crimes against peace and mankind. Those in lower ranks were protected against liability by the orders of their superiors. The superiors were protected because their orders were called acts of state. Under the Charter, no defense based on either of these doctrines can be entertained."

According to Jackson, not only had many of the defendants gone "above and beyond the call of duty" in their zeal for carrying out "orders," but also German officials must have known their orders "from above" violated accepted principles of international law.

The Judgment

In its judgment, the Tribunal stated: "Crimes against international law are committed by men, not by abstract entities such as states, and only by

punishing individuals who commit such crimes, can the provisions of international law be enforced.

"That a soldier was ordered to kill or torture in violation of the international law of war has never been recognized as a defense for such acts of brutality.... The true test, which is found in varying degrees in the criminal law of most nations, is not the existence of the order, but whether moral choice was in fact possible."

On the question of conspiracy, the Tribunal declared: "In the opinion of the Tribunal, the evidence establishes the common planning to prepare and wage war by certain of the defendants. It is immaterial to consider whether a single conspiracy...has been conclusively proved. Continued planning, with aggressive war as the object, has been established beyond doubt.... The argument that such common planning cannot exist where there is complete dictatorship is unsound.... Hitler could not make aggressive war by himself. He had to have the cooperation of statesmen, military leaders, diplomats, and businessmen. When they, with knowledge of his aims, gave him their cooperation, they made themselves parties to the plan he had initiated....

"To initiate a war of aggression is...not only an international crime; it is the supreme international crime...."

Eight of the highest officials in the Nazi party were convicted of conspiracy (Count One). Twelve defendants were convicted of aggressive war (Count Two).

The Tribunal convicted all but two of the 22 defendants who were indicted on one or both of Counts Three and Four. It then sentenced 12 defendants to death by hanging, three to life imprisonment, and four to imprisonment ranging from 10 to 20 years. Three were acquitted.

When the prisoners stood to receive their sentences, each was allowed to make a personal statement. Von Ribbentrop stated that the Tribu-

nal had been guilty of severe injustice by rejecting certain evidence showing that other nations hadn't protested when Germany initiated her policies of defensive expansionism.

"This trial will go down in history," Von Ribbentrop declared....

The Nuremberg Defendants

Hermann Goring

Chief of the air force, ranked second after Hitler: "The victor will always be the judge and the vanquished the accused."

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4*

Death

Rudolf Hess

Reich Minister Without Portfolio, ranked third after Goring: "I can't remember." (He suffered from amnesia.)

Guilty 1, 2

Life in prison

Joachim Von Ribbentrop

Foreign Minister: "The indictment is directed against the wrong people."

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4

Death

Ernst Kaltenbrunner

Head of the Security Police: "I do not feel guilty of any war crimes; I have only done my duty as an intelligence organ."

Guilty 3, 4

Death

Wilhelm Keitel

Army general and Chief of the German High Command: "For a soldier, orders are orders."

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4

Death

*The four counts of the Indictment were (1) Common Plan or Conspiracy, (2) Crimes Against Peace, (3) War Crimes, and (4) Crimes Against Humanity. Quotes were recorded by prison psychiatrist Gustave M. Gilbert.

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HANDOUT G-1 (cont.)

Alfred Rosenberg

Nazi Party Leader for Ideology and Foreign Policy: "I must reject an indictment for conspiracy."

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4

Death

Hans Frank

Reich Minister Without Portfolio: "I regard this trial as a God-willed world court, destined to examine and put an end to the terrible era of suffering under Adolf Hitler."

Guilty 3, 4

Death

Julius Streicher

Editor of *Der Sturmer*, an anti-Jewish newspaper and a favorite of Hitler: "This trial is a triumph of World Jewry."

Guilty 4

Death

Wilhelm Frick

Reich Minister of Interior and Director of the Central Office for all Occupied Territories: "The whole indictment rests on the assumption of the fictitious conspiracy."

Guilty 2, 3, 4

Death

Walter Funk

Press Chief. Later Minister of Economics: "I have never in my life consciously done anything which could contribute to such an indictment. If I have been made guilty of the acts which stand in the indictment, through error or ignorance, then my guilt is a human tragedy, and not a crime."

Guilty 2, 3, 4

Life in prison

Hjalmar Schacht

Reich Minister of Economics and President of the Reichsbank: "I do not understand at all why I have been accused."

Acquitted

Karl Donitz

Commander in Chief of the German Navy: "None of these indictment counts concerns me in the least—typical American humor."

Guilty 2, 3

10 years

Erich Raeder

Admiral of the German Navy

Guilty 1, 2, 3

Life in prison

Baldur Von Schirach

Reich Governor and Leader of Youth: "The whole misfortune came from racial politics."

Guilty 4

20 years

Fritz Sauckel

Reich Governor and General in the SS: "...The terrible happenings in the concentration camps has shaken me deeply."

Guilty 3, 4

Death

Alfred Jodl

Army General and Chief of Staff to General Keitel: "I regret the mixture of justified accusations and political propaganda."

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4

Death

Martin Bormann

Chief of Staff to Rudolf Hess and Hitler's secretary. Bormann disappeared and has never been found.

Guilty 3, 4

Death (in absentia)

Franz Von Papen

Reich Vice-Chancellor and Ambassador in Vienna and Turkey: "I believe that paganism and the years of totalitarianism bear the main guilt."

Acquitted

Artur Von Seyess-Inquart

Deputy Governor-General of occupied Poland and the Netherlands: "Last act of the tragedy of the second World War, I hope."

Guilty 2, 3, 4

Death

Albert Speer

Reich Minister for Armament and Munitions: "The trial is necessary. There is a common responsibility for such horrible crimes...even in an authoritarian system."

Guilty 3, 4

20 years

Konstantin Von Neurath

Foreign Minister before Ribbentrop and Protector of Bohemia and Moravia: "I was always against punishment without the possibility of a defense."

Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4

15 years

Hans Fritzsche

Director of Propaganda: "It is the most terrible indictment of all times."

Acquitted

HANDOUT G-2

THE EICHMANN TRIAL

Gideon Hausner

At the height of his career, Eichmann was a man of towering arrogance. During the war, he strutted across Europe in his smart uniform, topped with the SS cap complete with skull and crossbones. In winter he wore a long leather overcoat on which, according to his own evidence, the brain of a baby was once spilled when he came too near an execution squad liquidating the Jewish population of Minsk in 1941.

His name was whispered in horror throughout the ghettos of Europe. As supreme head of the Gestapo department, dealing with Jews, Eichmann had offices in Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Paris, Oslo, The Hague, and other capitals.... He operated so deftly that Gestapo chief Muller was once moved to say, "If Germany had had fifty Eichmans, we would have won the war!"

In court, we saw a totally subdued Eichmann.... He knew that creating a picture of a small man, forced...into doing things he did not like, gave him his best chance for saving his neck.

...I knew that Eichmann was a sly, cunning opponent...clever enough to elude his trackers for 15 long years in which he'd had ample time to prepare for a trial.... Because he destroyed all records of his Gestapo office and because he knew in advance of our documents and witnesses, he had the advantage of being able to allege or deny facts that we could not refute except by general questioning. It was clear, too, that the court of Israel would insist on strict compliance with the rules of procedure and evidence.

Taken from: Gideon Hausner. "Eichmann and His Trial," *Saturday Evening Post*. Reprinted from *The Saturday Evening Post* (c) 1962. The Curtis Publishing Company.

Consequently...when Eichmann—looking and acting like an insignificant clerk with a faulty memory—appeared before me for the first time that spring morning in Jerusalem, I realized it would not be easy to convince the court that he was indeed the archmonster who presided over the liquidation of 6,000,000 Jews in the shooting pits and gas ovens of the Nazi overlords.

Humanity deserves the fullest possible picture of a system of government and of a man able to spread a deadly dragnet over most of Europe and scoop up millions of men, women, and children for slaughter in one of the greatest crimes of all times....

...There were many like him, and he had legions of assistants.... Many millions of Germans were aware of what was going on. The regime started by indoctrinating the German people with notions of racial superiority and the denial of moral duties toward their fellow men. "Thou shalt not" ceased to exist for them. Next, the instilled hatred and contempt for aliens. Later...they were ready to embark on mass slaughter.

...Although we were trying a single murderer, we were also exposing the whole Nazi movement and anti-Semitism at large....

Prior to that fateful morning when the trial started in Jerusalem, I had never laid eyes on Eichmann. My first glimpse of him, however, was a shocker.

I was fully aware of his ruthlessness. I had seen numerous pleas addressed to him to spare the lives of certain Jews. Some had been written even by Nazi big shots who for reasons of bribery or economic policy, wished certain Jews temporarily spared. Eichmann's reply to all such requests had been a resounding "No." On one occasion, he even bucked Hitler himself. The Fuehrer, late in the war, made a concession to the wavering government in Hungary to allow 8,700 Jewish

families to leave, provided the rest of the Hungarian Jews—about 400,000—were handed over to the Nazis. Eichmann was so enraged at the possibility of this tiny remnant of Jewry escaping that he actually appealed to Hitler to change his decision, and finally got the Fuehrer to do so.

Eichmann frequently came to grips with high officials who felt that winning the war was more important than annihilating Jews. Toward the end...military men insisted that Germany needed every man, every rifle, and every railroad train. They did not want these diverted to concentration camps. They wanted the Jews to be put to work.... However, in the teeth of all this pressure, Eichmann stubbornly managed to keep his death juggernaut rolling, killing as many as 18,000 Jews a day. There was no stopping him.

...I half expected to encounter some of the arrogance, some of the posture and some of the diabolic strength of this Gestapo leader.

The shocker...was that I saw none of these things. In fact, Eichmann looked like nothing much at all. The man facing me was the kind you might rub elbows with in the street any day and never notice. He was nondescript, in his middle 50's, balding, lean, of dark complexion and of medium height. The first unusual thing one noticed was a twitch around his mouth which gave his face a strange, almost grotesque appearance. Only his narrow eyes behind the heavy eyeglasses disclosed his real personality. When he was cornered on some particularly slippery ground, those eyes would light up with bottomless hatred. Once, when this happened, my assistant tugged at my robe and whispered, "Did you notice his eyes? They frightened me."

But such moments were rare. Almost immediately Eichmann was able to revert to his usual, gray, nondescript appearance....

According to Israeli law, after the pretrial interrogation, an accused man must be shown in ad-

HANDOUT G-2 (cont.)

vance every piece of evidence, every document, every statement of every witness, who will testify at the trial. Unlike American prosecutors, Israeli ones cannot introduce anything the defense doesn't know about.

Eichmann made the most of this situation. He studied the hundreds of things we planned to introduce and memorized most of them.... He made extensive notes, turning his glass cubicle into a one-man office. He even had a special microphone in his bulletproof "office" by which he could communicate with his counsel, Dr. Robert Servatius.

...Eichmann carefully constructed a picture of himself best calculated to save his life. If—as was proved—Jews were segregated, starved, looted, tortured into slave workers and eventually destroyed in camps, Eichmann's portrait of himself never varied; he was a mere clerk arranging train schedules and other minor details.... He maintained that he never displayed any initiative or made independent decisions; he was always acting under orders.

...We proved that Eichmann displayed a lot of initiative and authority. For example, we introduced a handwritten memo from a German official who said that when he asked Eichmann what to do with the Jews in Belgrade, he got the reply, "Shoot them on the spot." Another Nazi official wrote that Eichmann had "agreed" to exterminate Jews by poison gas, rather than by shooting. These obviously were not the decisions of a mere train scheduler.

We also introduced Eichmann orders showing how he diabolically lulled his victims into a feeling of confidence that nothing would happen to them if they only "behaved themselves" that is, wore the yellow badge proclaiming their Jewishness, turned over their property to the state, and quietly took the train to the "work camps," which

were actually extermination camps. We showed how Eichmann's orders were so skillfully thought out that most Jews were unaware of what was really happening to them until they were on the point of being gassed. Even at the entrance to the death chambers, the victims were told they were merely to be disinfected. Small children were handed pieces of candy to keep them quiet.

All these things were done at Eichmann's behest. Nonetheless, he insisted that in everything he was merely acting under orders. When a document proved that he was acting on his own authority, he took the last retreat; he branded it as a forgery!

Knowing the evidence that we had, Eichmann still half expected somehow to escape with his life. In fact, just before the cross-examination he said to one of his guards, "so long as Mr. Hausner sticks to the documents, I am on safe ground." But when particularly damaging admissions were elicited from him in questioning, he remarked that he never expected cross-examination to be like this, adding, "I don't like the attorney general."

The portrait Eichmann presented in court rarely brought out his total lack of remorse. Four years prior to the trial, when Eichmann had a long discussion in Argentina with the Dutch journalist, Willam A. Sassen, he declared, "There is nothing I have to regret. Had we killed the eleven million Jews as contemplated, however, I would have been happier." (The figure of 11,000,000 referred to the total European Jewish population, including those in Russia, Great Britain, Ireland, Switzerland, Turkey, and other countries which the Nazis optimistically expected to get their hands on when they won the War.)

• • •

Eichmann's mask was so impassive that it was only such things as his eating habits that occasionally gave us a glimpse of how the evidence was affecting him.... Before the trial, he was questioned about a secret Berlin meeting in 1939...to arrange that all Polish Jews be concentrated in ghettos near railroad junctions...for the "final solution." Eichmann...denied that he was there.... But when we produced a document showing that he was one of the 16 high-ranking Nazis at the conference, he replied, "Of course, it cannot be denied anymore that I was there." That day Eichmann...asked if he might be excused from having lunch or dinner....

HANDOUT G-3

AS I SEE IT: NAZI LEADER SHOULD STAY IN PRISON

Matthew P. McCarthy

Wolf Hess' plea for the immediate release of his father (Rudolf Hess' Family Pleads for Release of Aged Nazi Leader," Viewpoints, May 3), whom he described as "that lonely old man sitting in that dreadful prison," is most distressing. Equally disturbing is another statement of Wolf Hess' that he believes there would be some "flurry of protests and a lot of hot air" because of this release but that eventually, "Rudolf Hess would be forgotten."

The idea of a "lonely old man" at 90 languishing in a fortress prison for political crimes certainly does run counter to most Americans' fundamental beliefs about justice and the basic reasons for which people are imprisoned. In this country most Americans accept prison as a place where evil-doers can be reformed and returned to society as useful productive people, or if reform cannot be effected, at least serve as a place where evil-doers can be warehoused in a humane manner until they are too old to do anybody any further harm.

Americans generally find the idea of imprisonment solely to punish or to make terrible examples of the evil-doers to be most repugnant. Equally repugnant to Americans is the idea of imprisonment of individuals for political offenses.

Matthew P. McCarthy, a New York City high school teacher who lives in Merrick, won the New York State Board of Regents' 1983 Louis Yavner Award for Holocaust teaching.

Taken from: Matthew P. McCarthy, "As I See It: Nazi Leader Should Stay in Prison," *Newsday* (May 16, 1984, p. 64). Reprinted by permission of Matthew P. McCarthy.

It is easy to dismiss Hess' continued imprisonment simply as an act of naked Russian vengeance for political offenses against the Soviet Union. Indeed, there is some substance to this claim. Yet, this does not alter the basic reasons why Rudolf Hess still sits in Spandau Prison in 1984.

In 1924, Hess sat in another prison, Landsberg, in Bavaria. He returned voluntarily from exile to serve his master, Adolf Hitler, in this prison. There he copied word after word of Hitler's rantings, revised their grammar somewhat, added a substantial amount of his own ideas and then personally typed them into a work, "Mein Kampf," which was to become the bible of Nazism.

Hess was one of the principal founders of the Nazi Party and he served as its secretary until his flight to Scotland in 1941. In 1933, when the Nazis came to power in Germany, Hess headed the central political committee of the Nazi Party and exercised control over the policies of Nazism second only to Hitler. He became deputy Fuehrer of Germany.

One of the special tasks assigned to him by Hitler in the early days of the Third Reich was to be "merciless" against the enemies of Nazism. To achieve this task, he reviewed all court decisions and sentences of both those acquitted and those convicted for crimes against the Nazi Party or the Third Reich. He exercised supreme judicial power in Germany by imposing prison sentences, or worse, on those already sentenced.

He was a major architect of the infamous Nuremberg racial purity laws which deprived millions in Germany of their birthright. He also was a principal planner of German rearmament, and it was he who planned the aggressive and unprovoked attacks against Germany's neighbors, including the Soviet Union.

How quickly we forget. Only 39 years ago at the

collapse of the Third Reich we were confronted with horrors that should have scarred our souls forever: the complete physical destruction of whole areas of Europe, the millions of war casualties and the terrible evidence of millions of innocents cruelly and deliberately murdered in the gas chambers. All of these were the direct result of the programs developed by Hess and Hitler's other henchmen to service the whims of their master and leader.

At that time the people of the world resolved that nothing like this must ever happen again and that the responsible individuals must be punished, and so they were.

After months of irrefutable evidence, Hess became the first person in history to be found guilty of both the conspiracy to wage and the actual waging of aggressive warfare. All during the trial which took place at Nuremberg, Hess remained a committed Nazi. He never once expressed regret or remorse for his actions. He has never once repudiated his promise to Hitler that he would follow him wherever he went with unquestioned loyalty.

Let us reply to Hess' son: It is good that you were able to grow up in a democratic Germany, unmolested and free to pursue your interests. This situation was not a legacy from your father or his friends. Your father led the German people to the evils of totalitarianism.

Your freedom today is a gift from an outraged world which fought a terrible war to rid the world of the likes of your father and his friends. We do not view your father as a "frail old man." We view him as the last living reminder of the totality of evil that existed in the murderous years of the Third Reich. Your father still lives, but because he has lived, millions do not.

HANDOUT G-4.1

LET HER CRY IT OUT"

Gerda Weissmann Klein

At fifteen Gerda was caught up in the war; she had spent her teenage years as a slave in the labor camps. At twenty, she trudged a thousand miles in the dead of winter through Europe—one of four thousand slaves. At twenty-one she was one of two hundred survivors who finally reached a Czech border town. On her twenty-first birthday she celebrated Germany's surrender, in a hospital. The day before, she had met her savior—an American lieutenant who looked to her like a "young god." A year later they were married....

We went back to the barracks where most of the rest of the girls had gathered. We found chaos; crying, and shouts of joy. The hour had struck at last. Somehow, I couldn't grasp it. There were no golden trumpets to proclaim our freedom. There were no liberators in sight.

Liesel was lying on the littered floor. She knew we were free but did not seem elated.

"Where is Suse?" I asked her.

"She went out to get water and hasn't returned. She has been gone a long time."

I went out to look for Suse. She was not at the pump. I found her off a way lying in the mud. Her eyes were glassy, unseeing, but for a moment I did not realize she was dead.

"Suse, we are free," I called to her. "We are free, the war is over."

When I touched her, I knew the truth.

I did not tell Liesel. It was too sad for Liberation Day....

My mind was so dull, my nerves so worn from

waiting, that only an emotionless vacuum remained. Like many of the other girls I just sat and waited for whatever would happen next.

In the afternoon, a strange vehicle drove up. In it were two soldiers in strange uniforms, one of whom spoke German.

The German mayor of the town was with them. He was trying to tell the two soldiers that he really was not anti-Semitic. The soldiers were Americans; I knew as soon as I heard them speak to one another....

Tears welled from my eyes as they approached us. The German-speaking soldier patted me with his clean hand. "Don't cry, my child," he said with compassion, "it is all over now."

"We must return to headquarters," said the other one... "Can you girls wait until morning? We shall return."

I remember nothing else happening that day. The next thing I remember was waking up, wrapped snugly and warm in a coat which the SS had left behind....

The barracks was bathed in sunshine, and I woke up with the knowledge that I was free. I was eager to go outside, to move about freely. Perhaps I would meet the Americans again. I swayed as I started to walk. My skin was hot and dry. As I reached the door, the first thing I saw was the strange vehicle bouncing toward us through the brilliant May sunshine. I was overcome with joy.

I called to the other girls that some Americans were coming. The soldier on the left made a motion to the driver who stopped the vehicle a few feet from where I was standing. The soldier jumped out and walked toward the barracks. He wasn't the one who had come the day before. Shaking my head, I stared at this man who was to me the embodiment of all heroism and liberty. He greeted me. I must tell him (that we're Jewish) from the start, I resolved, so that he has no illu-

sions about us. Perhaps I had acquired a feeling of shame. After all, for six long years the Nazis had tried to demean us.

"May I see the other ladies?" he asked.

"Ladies!" my brain repeated. He probably doesn't know, I thought. I must tell him.

"We are Jews," I said in a small voice.

"So am I," he answered. Was there a catch in his voice, or did I imagine it?

I could have embraced him but I was aware how dirty and repulsive I must be.

"Won't you come with me?" he asked. He held the door open. I didn't understand at first. I looked at him questioningly but not a muscle in his face moved. He wanted me to feel that he had not seen the dirt or the lice. He saw a lady and I shall be forever grateful to him for his graciousness.

"I want you to see a friend of mine," I remember telling the American, and we started to walk toward Liesel. On the dirty, straw-littered floor Lilli was lying, covered with rags. As we tried to reach Liesel, she looked up, her eyes enormous, burning in their sockets. She looked at my companion and her face lit up with a strange fire. I heard her say something in English, and saw how the American bent down closer and answered her. Her hands were shaking as she gently, unbelievably touched the sleeve of his jacket. In the exchange that followed, I made out the word "happy." I understood that word. Then she sighed, released his hand and, looking at him, shook her head and whispered, "Too late..."

I looked back at Lilli; her eyes were fixed on the American, a solitary tear ran down her cheek. An ant was crawling over her chin. Shortly afterward, Lilli died.

I heard the American give commands in English. He seemed furious that things weren't moving fast enough. He explained to me in Ger-

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HANDOUT G-4.1 (cont.)

man that a hospital was being set up for us. Then he asked me:

"Is there anything I can do for you in particular?"

"Yes, there is," I said. "If you would be kind enough, and could find the time. You see, I have an uncle in Turkey. Could you write to him, let him know that I am alive, and that I hope he has news from my parents and my brother?"

He took out a notebook, and removed the sunglasses he had been wearing. I saw tears in his eyes. He wore battle gear with a net over his helmet. As he wrote, I looked at him and couldn't absorb enough of the wonder that he had fought for my freedom.

He snapped his book shut.

"I would like to ask you a question," he said softly. "But please don't answer if you don't want to. We are aware of what has happened. Tell me, were you girls sterilized?"

I did not answer at once. I was too full of emotion. Why should he, of all people, who looked to me like a young god, inquire about the deepest treasure that I, who must have looked like an animal to him, carried still within me?

"We were spared," I managed to say.

A few moments later, joined by his companion and the mayor, he drove off. Before I had even asked his name—he vanished.

Within an hour, Red Cross trucks arrived. Litter bearers gently but swiftly loaded the ill. Other soldiers carried girls in their arms, like babies, speaking to them soothingly in words the girls did not understand. But the gestures of warmth and help were unmistakable. In a trance, I walked to a truck and got in.... Their uniforms, their language, their kindness and concern made it true; we were finally free!

The hospital we were taken to was a converted school. Wounded German soldiers had been

moved to the third floor so that we could be installed in the first two floors. How strange—in a matter of one day, the world had changed: Germans were put out to make room for us.

We were taken to a room where huge caldrons of water were being heated on a stove. Round wooden tubs stood steaming on the floor.

A woman in a white coat motioned me to undress.

Doing so, I stepped into one of the tubs. The warm water, racing to my neck, felt strange; it had been at least three years since last I sat in a tub. Bidding me stand, the nurse soaped my body with quick, invigorating pressure. It was pleasantly painful to sit back in the tub again and let the warm water engulf me.

A young peasant girl came in, her cheeks rosy and shining, her colorful peasant skirt reaching to her ankles.... When I saw the girl gather up my clothes in a basket, I looked at the nurse with a questioning glance.

"They will be burned," she said.

Only one thought remained. With my wet hand I reached for my ski boots, took the left one and reached under the lining. There was the dirty, shapeless package containing the pictures I wanted to save. I pulled the pictures out and laid them on the dry towels beside the tub. And the other packet—the poison I had bought in Grunberg—gratefully let go to the fire.

I stepped out of the tub; the nurse dried my body and hair. As I stood nude, before a clean blue and white checkered man's shirt was put on me, I realized abruptly that I possessed nothing, not even a stitch of clothing that I could call my own. I owned the pictures of Papa, Mama, Arthur, and Abek that I carried for three years.

A blanket was thrown over my shoulders as I was led to a bunk. The sheets were fresh and white. A nurse brought me a drink of milk—I hadn't had any in three years. As I drank it,

something tremendous and uncontrollable broke loose within me. My body shook convulsively. I wanted to stop it but I couldn't. I heard my voice and could do nothing about it.

A nurse hurried up; then a doctor. I heard him say, "No, let her cry it out." Long pent-up emotions finally burst out. I cried for Ilse, for Suse, for other friends, and finally for my family, too. Deep in my heart, I had known they were dead, but dreams about happy reunions with them had kept me going.

When I opened my eyes a night had passed. A nurse was approaching with a breakfast tray. This is the life of a fairy princess, I thought.

As I lay daydreaming after breakfast, there was a sudden commotion. Nurses hurried in.

"Germany has capitulated," they told us. "The war in Europe is over."

For me, the war had ended with my liberation. I had not realized that the fighting had continued after that.

I looked out the window. Coming down the hilly, winding road was a company of unarmed and bedraggled German soldiers. As they passed my window, I could see their unshaven faces and hollow cheeks. Proud, handsome American soldiers guarded them.

A doctor and a nurse came in. They stopped at each bed. After asking my name and birthplace, the doctor asked for my date of birth.

"May 8, 1924."

"May 8," the doctor exclaimed. "Why, today is the eighth."

"Happy Birthday," the nurse chanted.

After they left, I repeated to myself, "It's my birthday, my twenty-first birthday, and Germany capitulated."

I thought of Tusia, who had so desperately wanted my assurance that we would both be free on this day. I remembered her lying dead in the snow. Why am I here? I wondered. I am no better.

HANDOUT G-4.1 (cont.)

As I lay back on my white clean pillow, lost in thought, I heard someone approach. It was the doctor again. He put something in my hand.

"For your birthday," he said smiling.
It was a piece of chocolate.

HANDOUT G-4.2

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SURVIVAL

Dr. Flora Hogman

Flora Hogman is a child psychologist in New York, who is studying the long-term effects of World War II on Jewish children. Her interest in the subject stems from the fact that she herself was orphaned in occupied France during the war. *Keeping Posted* editor Aron Hirt-Manheimer asked her about her life and work.

Why don't we start with some background about yourself?

I was born in Italy to Czech parents. My father died when I was very young. With the rise of Mussolini, my mother and I fled to France. It turned out to be a big mistake because Jews were treated better by the Italians than by the French. When the Germans arrived in our city the persecution of Jews was so intense that mother left me in a convent. I was four or five.

What happened to her?

For quite a while, I was told that my mother was living on the island of Corsica. At the convent I remember dictating letters to her. I found out years later that she had been sent to Auschwitz.

While at the convent, did you know that you were Jewish?

I knew, but I wasn't supposed to tell anyone that I was Jewish. Once my mother caught me singing anti-Mussolini and anti-Hitler songs in the street

Taken from: Aron Hirt-Manheimer. *Keeping Posted. Children of the Holocaust*, Vol. XXV, Ed. 2, 1979, pp. 22-23. Reprinted by permission of Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

with other kids. After getting a sound spanking for the transgression, I kept my mouth shut. I don't think my mother let me go out after that incident.

After you were converted, did you think of yourself as a Catholic?

I did and I didn't. I am by nature very skeptical and my odyssey from family to family—from Catholics to atheists to Protestants—led to a lot of confusion about religion. As I grew older, I developed a certain contempt for all religions, including Judaism. But later I realized that there was an important part of my life that I didn't fully acknowledge and confront.

Let's turn now to the stories of the eleven children survivors that you interviewed. What is their age range?

The youngest person was two weeks old at the outset of the war in 1939, the oldest was eleven. Most of them were between five and eight.

Were most of these children kept in convents and homes like yourself?

In Western European countries, the children were usually placed in children's homes or convents under assumed identities. In Eastern Europe, where the gentile population was generally more hostile, Jews had more difficulty staying concealed in homes and often ended up hiding in the forests, where they suffered terribly from starvation and the cold.

Would you cite an example from your research?

One seven-year-old boy was forced to hide in the Ukrainian forest alone for a while to escape an action (military sweep) directed specifically against Jewish children. While in the forest, he

HANDOUT G-4.2 (cont.)

developed an amazing coping strategy. He would practice running every day, figuring that if he ran fast enough the Germans would never catch up with him. This activity gave him a sense of control over his fate. He no longer felt helpless. In general, a key to survival was finding ways of keeping active, even when the behavior was unrealistic or superstitious.

What were some of the other psychological defense mechanisms that you discovered?

Sustaining a sense of adventure and curiosity. For instance, one boy experienced fascination rather than fear while his city was being bombed. An eight year-old girl considered it an adventure to smuggle jewels across the border. Some of the older children told themselves that they must survive to tell the world what happened, an idea they probably got from their parents. One person found strength in hating, which can be viewed as a form of defiance. For some, every successful escape was an exhilarating victory that further gave them courage and strengthened their resolve to persevere.

Was caring for family members a means of survival?

Yes. When one or both parents broke down emotionally or died, the children would often take over the parenting role. In one case, a nine year-old boy saw his brother and father shot in a work camp and from that moment he knew that it was his responsibility to take care of his mother and three sisters in the forest. Overnight he felt himself become an old man. He found purpose in his life by caring for his loved ones and by sustaining a belief in God. Then there is the case of a young girl in France whose mother developed a case of hysterical blindness. The child went to the doctor

three miles away, but he refused to come, not wanting to risk his skin for a Jewish woman. So, this very determined girl refused to leave the steps of his home until the doctor gave in. She was not going to let her mother die.

Two of the children were in Auschwitz? How did they come out alive?

One of them came near the end of the war and passed selection by making herself appear older and useful. The second, along with his twin sister, was selected by Mengele as a subject for medical experimentation. Apparently, he was one of the smartest children in Mengele's quarters, so he was entrusted with the care of the other kids.

In some of the Holocaust memoirs I've read, there seemed to be a conflict between saving loved ones and saving oneself. Did this conflict arise in your research?

Most of the younger children felt that by saving their parents they were saving themselves. They couldn't imagine living without their parents. The boy from Ukraine (the one who practiced running) felt that it was everyone for himself. He had heard rumors that some parents killed their own children to save themselves. The cries of the children often led to the detection of whole groups in hiding. He was therefore very frightened of his parents.

In another case, a boy hidden in a monastery was ashamed of his parents and didn't want anything to do with them. The boy somehow decided that the Germans were better people than the Jews. He felt that the Germans did things better and were smarter and stronger, so he identified with them. As a child, he found strength in denying Judaism and acting very Christian. As an adult, he reaffirmed his Jewish identity.

How important was one's religion for survival?

For some, religious belief helped but so did a solid feeling about one's Jewishness in an ethnic sense. Children who felt good about being Jewish could easily reject the malicious propaganda that was used to justify their persecution. Those who had mixed feelings about Judaism often experienced shame and doubt about being Jewish.

Do you think your research has in fact enabled you to better understand yourself?

It's helped me accept being different – growing up without parents and being Jewish while being raised Christian. Learning about the similar experiences of others who as adults found their Jewish identity increasingly important helped me accept the fact that I would have to come to terms with my Jewishness as well.

HANDOUT G-5

WIEDERGUTMACHUNG

My mother was—my mother.
How can I describe you—mother?
My mother was—the most beautiful of all
mothers in the world.
My mother said:
"No! My little boy didn't do this naughty
thing . . ." Lovingly she pressed the profiles of
my head between her open palms, her fingers long and
parted. Her eyes plumbed the depths of my own
as she said: "I—I did the naughty thing! Because
I am my little boy!"

Wiedergutmachung: reparations
K.Z. (German pronunciation Ka-Tzet) are the initials of Kon-
zentration Zentler (Concentration Camp). Every K.Z. inmate
was known as "Ka-tzetnik Number..." the number itself be-
ing tattooed or branded on the left arm.

The author of this poem is Ka-tzetnik 135633.

Taken from: Ka-tzetnik 135633, *Star Eternal* (New York: Arbor
House, 1971), pp. 120-126. Used by permission of Nina
DeNur. By the same author: *House of Dolls* (over 5 million
copies sold and translated into 33 languages), *Sunrise Over
Hell*, *Phoenix Over the Galilee* and *Piepel*.

Afterwards, I was always very careful to behave,
because I couldn't bear for my mother to do a
naughty thing.

My mother!

Of all mothers in the world mine was the most
beautiful.

On her way to the crematorium my mother saw
my face. I know it. Because I too, on my way to the
crematorium, saw my mother's face.

Mother, now they want to give me money to
make up for you.

I still can't figure out how many German marks
a burnt mother comes to.

"My little boy couldn't have done this
naughty thing . . ."

Mother, I feel your open palms touching the
profiles of my head, my eyes sink into yours: Isn't it
true, mother, you wouldn't take money for your
little one, burnt?

My sister's hair was long and curly, the color of
ripe gold. Mother's hands vanished in white-gold
foam every time she washed it. Whenever she rinsed
it, sheer gold cascaded down my sister's nape like
a waterfall all the way to the bottom of the tub.

My mother loved to plait ribbons into her tiny

HANDOUT G-5 (cont.)

daughter's hair. She would sort them out, singing
soft to herself as she did:

*"Ribbon green for hair's gold sheen,
Ribbon pink for chocolate skin,
Ribbon blue for the eyes . . ."*

My sister's eyes were blue like sky.

Sabbath morning, in front of the house, when
the sun met my sister's hair, neighbors at their
windows would call:

"Whose hair is that, little goldilocks?"

"My mother's," answered my sister.

I loved my sister's hair. She never lifted scissors to
it. She said, "My mother's . . ."

Before my sister was burned in the crematorium
of Auschwitz, they shaved off her hair. Seventeen
years the golden locks lengthened on my sister's head.
Long locks of gold. Seventeen years.

In a shipment of hair, in sacks, or in rectangular
bales, tight-pressed like cotton from rich plantations,

my sister's hair was sent to Germany. It was unloaded
at a factory, to make:

blankets—

soft club-chairs—

upholstery—

Somewhere, in Germany, a young Fraulein now
covers herself with a blanket. A single hair of
gold, unprocessed, thrusts out of the blanket's
weave. The Fraulein stretches out a bare arm, pulls,
pulls—

"Fraulein! Give me back that hair! It's out of
my sister's golden locks—"

My sister, now they want to give me money for
you. But I don't know how many German marks your
curls should bring.

"Whose hair is it, little goldilocks?"

"My mother's . . ."

"Mother, Mother, what do you say—how much
is your little goldilock's hair worth?"

My mother croons to herself:

*"Ribbon green for hair's gold sheen
Ribbon pink for chocolate skin,
Ribbon blue for the eyes . . ."*

My sister had eyes like blue sky.

HANDOUT G-5 (cont.)

Among tens of thousands of shoes I'd recognize
a shoe of yours, father!

Your heels were never crooked.

Father, your step was always straight.

Each day a new mountain of shoes piles up on
the compound of the crematorium. Remember when
I was little? The first time you let me shine your
shoes, I polished them tops and bottoms. Oh how
you laughed at me then:

"There is, sonny, a dirty side as well, on which
a man must tread. When you're big you'll
understand."

Father, I'm big now.

The sun bends over the slope of the tall
shoe-mountain, illuminating it for me as with a
flashlight:

Shoes!

Shoes without end!

A torn baby-shoe—like an infant's open mouth,
eager for the full spoon in mother's hand; a torn

baby-shoe—an infant's head, eyes bugging from the
shoe-mountain to the sun shining on earth.

Nearby—

A narrow, delicate woman's shoe, high and slender
heeled, brown-scaled. Open on all sides. Several
entwined leather straps on top. The gold imprint
on the steep arch glitters in the face of the sun.

Nearby—

A lime-spattered workman's shoe. The sun peers
into it as into the mouth of a cavern hacked into
barren mountain rock.

Nearby—

A mountaineer's shoe, its toe wedged in the side of
the mountain, as if the climber had paused in
mid-ascent, breathless: "Oh, what a view! . . ."

Nearby—

A leg with a shoe on its foot—prothesis to the
groin. Trouserless, naked to the sun.

HANDOUT G-5 (cont.)

Shoes!

Shoes beyond count!

Father, among tens of thousands of shoes I would
recognize yours!

Your heels were never crooked—

Father, your step was straight.

How can I take money for my sister the "Field
Whore" from you—and not be a pimp?

Give me—

Give me back one single hair of my sister's
golden curls!

Give me back one shoe of my father's;

A broken wheel from my little brother's skates;

And a mote of dust that on my mother rested—

Unit IV. Implications for our Future

A. Individual Choices

Statement of Purpose:

The Holocaust years demonstrated clearly the seemingly endless capacity of human beings to be part of or indifferent to evil and injustice. People who should have known better, who, in some cases, were schooled in the great liberal traditions of western civilization, failed to stand up against the Nazis. Sadly, this dismal epoch in history indicates that individuals can violate with impunity the sanctity of human life and freedom and manage at the same time to keep their consciences intact.

The Nazis placed a premium on loyalty, hard work, dedication to task, idealism, consistency and respect for authority. But a person might possess all of these exemplary qualities and still be guilty of crimes against humanity. What was needed a sense of caring, a love of one's neighbor, consideration for the rights of others, and a deep respect for human dignity was missing.

These universal principles are the bulwarks against future holocausts. But the future years will make it difficult for individuals to develop caring attitudes towards fellow human beings. Alienation, fragmentation, and bureaucratization in our post-industrial society will serve to separate rather than bring people together. Technological advances may also isolate us from our humanness. These include our dependence on computers, advances in mind-control techniques, and the manipulative potential of the mass media.

How then should we prepare the student to deal with these potential threats to individual freedom? The following activities suggest some answers.

Objectives:

- Students will explain that they have the choice of accepting or rejecting evil;
- Students will recognize that the suffering of another human being may later result in their own suffering;
- Students will appreciate the specialness of each living person on earth.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Eugene Heimler, himself a resister of the Nazis, tries to pinpoint the moment when a person decides he or she can no longer passively accept the existence of evil. He also explains why resistance against tyranny requires a great deal of moral courage.

RESISTANCE AGAINST TYRANNY

Eugene Heimler

What motivated ordinary men and women in our century to resist tyranny was something which truly intrigued me when I saw the first German soldiers marching through my native Hungary in 1941. I was interested not only in the actual act of resistance but also in why the people did what they did. I found during those days something very uplifting and hopeful about men and women who were willing to sacrifice their

lives so that others might live in a better society. I remember still the impact made on my adolescent mind when a journalist who throughout his life had worked for a Right-wing paper in my home town suddenly decided to print posters bearing the slogan "National Socialism is Death." These subsequently appeared all over town. The idea occurred to him while he was shaving one morning. He stood in front of the mirror, he said, and suddenly saw his face in a way in which he had never seen it before. He said it was the face of a traitor. The face asked him, "What are you going to do about this? What are you going to do about the injustice that is on its way?" By the time he had finished shaving he was ready with the answer. When everyone had gone home that night he used his own paper's presses to print the posters and then went out and put them out himself. I think that there is something symbolic in this episode: a man's seeing his face in the mirror and the reflection's speaking to him from the glass.

Discuss the following questions with students:

- What finally convinced the journalist that he should resist the Nazis?
- What does Heimler mean when he says, "The history of darkness is also the history of light"?
- How can someone become a participant in tyranny whether one wants to or not?

Taken from: Eugene Heimler, editor. *Resistance Against Tyranny* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967). Reprinted by permission of Eugene Heimler.

-What would you have printed on your poster? Why?

- Have students examine this quote:

Pastor Niemoeller:

"In Germany, the Nazis first came for the Communists and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak up because I was not a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics and I was a Protestant so I didn't speak up. Then they came for me. . . by that time there was no one to speak up for anyone."

Discuss the following questions with students:

- Why didn't Pastor Niemoeller get involved when the Communists, Jews, union members, and Catholics were being arrested by the Nazis?
- Why didn't someone speak up when Pastor Niemoeller was finally arrested?
- Refer to the concept of indifference in Unit I and explain how Pastor Niemoeller's statement serves as an example of this concept.
- Pablo Casals, the world-famous cellist, has devoted a great portion of his life to bringing the message of human understanding to the world. Here is the advice he gives the young people in his audiences:

"You may become a Shakespeare, a Michelangelo, a Beethoven. You have the capacity for anything. Yes, you are a marvel. And when you grow up, can you then harm another who is, like you a marvel? You must cherish one another. You must work we all must work to make the world worthy of its children."

Discuss the following questions with your students:

-What is Pablo Casals' opinion of human beings?

-Why does he tell young people that they have "the capacity for anything"?

-How can each person make the world worthy of its children?

- The story of Trevor Ferrell received national attention as this 11-year-old boy from Philadelphia spent his evenings delivering food and blankets to the street people of his city. Ask students to read the following account of Trevor Ferrell's work among the poor. Have students explain how his work serves as an example of how one person can make a difference. Ask students to explain how Trevor has overcome indifference and apathy in his work with Philadelphia's poor.

11-YEAR-OLD MINISTERS TO NEEDS OF HOMELESS

William Robbins

Special to The New York Times

Philadelphia, March 11—At home, Trevor Ferrell is a quiet 11-year-old who studies enough to get average grades, sometimes squabbles with his brother and sisters, swims in season in the family pool, and rides his minibike around the cul-de-sac on their quiet suburban street.

But each night as he moves among his people, Trevor becomes something more. An inner glow seems to light his face. He moves with a confidence that also fills his voice.

Trevor's people are Tommy, a bearded figure in grimy clothes huddled on a steam vent beside mounds of snow in bitter cold; Betty and John, hugging themselves for warmth under a storefront awning; Scape, who sleeps on a boxboard-layered fire escape; Static, so called for the way his hair stands out, living from street to street;

and Vince and Marcella Williams, who sleep on a secluded corner.

He Has Adopted Street People

Trevor's people are the street people of Philadelphia. Aided by his father, Frank, his mother, Janet, his neighbors, and his and several other churches, Trevor has adopted them. And as word has spread about the family's ministry, more and more help has poured in.

Friday night he spread a blanket over Tommy's shoulders, handed soup, ladled by his father, and sandwiches to John and Betty and many others, and lifted the edge of a blanket to touch Scape, gently nudging a shoulder.

"Scape?" he said. "Scape? Are you all right? Want some coffee? How about some hot soup?"

Trevor touches a shoulder or a hand, but Friday night, it was clear, he had touched something deeper. Pale and weary at the end of the night after a stressful week that capped three months of a nightly ministry, suffering a headache and perhaps fever, Trevor sat, confined by a worried father to the front seat, when their station wagon reached 11th and Winter Streets, where a crowd had gathered.

"Where's Trevor?" asked Michael Mines, wearing a warm soldier's coat the boy had given him. "Where's Little Buddy?" asked one. "Where's Little Jesus?" asked another.

"Take him home and give him some hot tea," advised a man named Eugene. "Have you given him Tylenol?" asked Rasheem, an epileptic veteran of the Vietnam War.

"We're going to pray for Trevor and your whole family," Eugene told Mr. Ferrell.

Taken from: William Robbins, "11-Year-Old Ministers to Needs of Homeless," *New York Times* (March 12, 1984, p. B7). Copyright (c) 1984 by the New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

Friday night came a day after a visit by Trevor to City Hall to meet Mayor W. Wilson Goode and receive a commendation from the City Council for his ministry to the street people.

Mission Began in December

His mission began, Trevor recalled, on a cold night last December when he saw on television the street people huddled over their steam vents.

"I asked my father if people really lived like that," Trevor said. "He said, 'Sure they are right here in Philadelphia,' and he said, 'If you want to see for yourself I'll take you down there.'"

Trevor asked if he could take a blanket and one of his pillows along. Both of those went on the first block past City Hall, to a man on a grate near the brownstone front of one of the city's most exclusive clubs, the Union League.

"You should have seen his face light up," said Trevor.

Almost every night since then, Trevor and Mr. Ferrell, usually accompanied by Mrs. Ferrell, have returned, sometimes with Trevor's 14-year-old brother, Allen, or his 16-year-old sister, Liza, or Jody, 8, his youngest sister.

Now, as word has spread, they return with more. Contributions pile up in their yard as the Ferrells, a Presbyterian family, visit churches where Trevor tells of the street people's needs and as he distributes leaflets to stores. When checks began coming in, Mr. Ferrell, the owner of a television shop, arranged for Trevor to incorporate and seek tax exemption.

The family's goal now is to get a building for a downtown shelter.

Trevor, a sixth-grader, finishes his homework in the afternoon before the nightly missions, he said. "To tell the truth, Trevor is not exactly great at studies," Mr. Ferrell said, though "he has a high I.Q."

How long will they continue the nightly missions? both father and son were asked.

"As long as we can," each said.

As Friday night began, telephone calls interrupted preparations. One call, the father said, was from a film-studio executive seeking a meeting to discuss a possible motion picture.

What would he do, Trevor was asked, if the result would be a lot of money?

Trevor responded, "Get a building."

- You might conclude this section on individual choices with the following composition (letter-writing) activity.

Setting:

You are an American pediatrician who practices medicine on a voluntary rotation basis in a very poor country in the Caribbean for one year out of every three. While you are there you receive only a small wage which covers living expenses for you and your family. Occasionally someone asks why you subject your wife (or husband) and your three children to this life.

Task:

Write a brief letter responding to an American friend who asks why you volunteer your time, expertise, and energy to treat people who live so far away.

B. Group Choices

Statement of Purpose:

The behavior of the Nazis during the Holocaust years was characterized by the lack of concern for the rights of those defined as "undesirables." Group membership diluted personal responsibility for crimes committed against humanity. The institutions controlled by the Nazis declared open season on all who either threatened the regime or were defined as undesirable. The Nazis broke no laws; everything was done under the protective covering of Nazi laws and Nazi judges. Other institutions, including the educational system, the churches, and the scientific community, generally supported the Nazis and looked the other way as the Jews of Germany were being "re-settled." Nazi-controlled groups within Germany lacked a sense of moral responsibility toward the "out-groups" and felt no sense of belonging to, needing, or wanting those who had been defined as "different."

The Nazis were able to intensify these group differences so as to dilute any concerted opposition to their rule. Yet some groups of people living under the Nazi yoke were able to see that it was in their own self-interest to take a stand against evil. Why they did so and how some modern-day groups are doing so, in different contexts, is the subject of the following activities.

Objectives:

- Students will explain that the price of resisting tyranny may often be high;
- Students will describe how groups of ordinary citizens have come together to take direct action against policies which they see as threatening the sanctity of human life and freedom;
- Students will conclude that although the problems of nuclear proliferation, environmental

pollution, and world poverty seem immense and unsolvable, remaining silent and inactive actually contributes to the problem.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Read the following poem to students without identifying the author or when it was written.

IF WE MUST DIE

Claude McKay

If we must die — let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot
While round us bark the mad and hungry
dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die — oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though
dead!
Oh Kinsmen! We must meet the common
foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us show us
brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one
deathblow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly
pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

Discuss the following questions with your students:

- Under what circumstances was this poem probably written?
- Who is the "we" in this poem?
- What do the people hope to accomplish by fighting back against "the murderous, cowardly pack?"
- Why is it better to die on your feet than on your knees?

Taken from: "If We Must Die" by Claude McKay. *Selected Poems of Claude McKay*. Copyright 1981 by Twayne Publishers, Inc., and reprinted with the permission of Twayne Publishers, a Division of G.K. Hall and Co., Boston.

- One formidable problem which defies an easy solution is world poverty and hunger. While most Americans are sympathetic, very few care enough or have time to take an active part in helping to alleviate the suffering. A remarkable individual who has devoted her life to helping those less fortunate than she is Mother Teresa, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979. Her group, the Missionaries of Charity (and its auxiliary, the Co-Workers), live with the poorest of the poor in slums around the world. Their credo is a simple one:

We give help to the shut-in, the unwanted, the unloved, the alcoholics, the dying destitutes, the abandoned and the lonely, the outcasts and the untouchables, the leprosy sufferers — all those who are a burden to human society — who have forgotten how to smile — who have lost the sensibility of the warm hand touch of love and friendship.

We reach through to something innate in every human mind — if for no other purpose than to create a potential, a seed for good. . .

There are in the world those who struggle for justice and for human rights and to try and change structures. We are not inattentive to this, but our daily contact is with people who do not even have a piece of bread to eat. Our mission is to look at the problem more individually. If a person feels that God wants him to pledge for the collective change of the social structures this is a question between him and God. . .

More and more we need to learn from the beautiful that is in everything — even a poor person who is able to pass days without eating. Would we have this capacity? They are a people full of life, who, incredible as it seems, smile and have hopes. . . . The beauty is not in poverty but in the courage that they show by still smiling and having hope. . .

To know the problem of poverty intellectually is not to understand it as a problem. It is

not through reading, taking a walk in the slums, admiring and regretting the misery that we get to understand it and to discover what of it is bad and good. We have to dive into it, to live it and to share it.

Provide students with a copy of the credo of Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity. After reading it, ask them to discuss the following questions:

- Why would any group want to help society's outcasts?
- Why would the Missionaries of Charity help a person who was not Catholic?
- Why is it harder to unite people around love than it is around hate?
- Mother Teresa was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1979. In accepting the award she said:

"... And with this prize that I have received as a prize of peace, I am going to try to make a home for many people who have no home. Because I believe that love begins at home, and if we create a home for the poor, I think that more and more love will spread."

How can we be sure that the poor, the sick, the aged and the homeless are cared for?

- Another complex problem for our future is environmental pollution of our air, land, and water. In many areas of the United States, citizens' groups have formed to help government officials monitor potential environmental problems. These groups take on the responsibility of protecting the natural resources for all people living in a particular area.

One citizens' group which was formed in western New York State was the Love Canal Homeowners Association. This group was started in response to the toxic waste dumping by the Hooker

For more information about Mother Teresa, see: Kathryn Spink, *The Miracle of Love* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981).

Chemical Corporation. Have students read the following statement made by Lois Marie Gibbs, the leader of the Love Canal Homeowners Association.

THE PROBLEM AT LOVE CANAL

Lois Marie Gibbs

Almost everyone has heard about Love Canal, but not many people know what it is all about. The Love Canal story is about a thousand families who lived near the site of an abandoned toxic chemical waste dump. More important, it is a warning of what could happen in any American community. We have very little protection against the toxic chemical wastes that threaten to poison our water, our air, and our food. The federal and state governments have agreed to move away everyone who wants to move; but they didn't at first. We had to work to achieve that goal. Love Canal is the story of how government tends to solve a problem, and of how we, ordinary citizens of the United States, can take control of our own lives by insisting that we be heard.

I want to tell you our story - my story - because I believe that ordinary citizens - using the tools of dignity, self-respect, common sense, and perseverance - can influence solutions to important problems in our society. To a great extent, we won our fight. It wasn't easy, that's for sure. In solving any difficult problem, you have to be prepared to fight long and hard, sometimes at great personal cost; but it can be done. It *must* be done if we are to survive as a democratic society - indeed, if we are to survive at all.

After students read this statement, have them gather additional information about the Love Ca-

Taken from: Lois Marie Gibbs, *Love Canal: My Story* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1982), p. 1. Copyright (c) 1982 by Lois Gibbs and Murray Levine. Reprinted by permission of State University of New York Press.

nal case from newspapers and periodicals in the library. When students have sufficient background information, divide them into three groups: Group A should represent the Love Canal Homeowners Association; Group B should represent the Hooker Chemical Corporation; Group C should include various local, state, and federal officials. Turn the clock back to the point where the chemical hazard was first discovered. Have each group define its own self-interest in the case. Have each group develop a strategy for advancing its self-interest. Each group can present its arguments and discuss possible ways to resolve the problem. Have students report on how the Love Canal environment controversy was resolved.

In a debriefing session, ask students to respond to the following questions:

- How did you feel as you assumed your role as a representative of the citizens' group, chemical company, or government agency?
- How can a group of citizens influence the outcome of a governmental decision?
- What citizens' groups operate locally? What are their objectives?

C. Connections

Statement of Purpose:

The world has produced magnificent individuals and dedicated groups who struggle against evil and injustice on a daily basis. Yet the danger of holocausts and genocide is a continual threat. This course has been designed to develop an awareness of this threat. The hope is that those who are exposed to the dismal record of the Holocaust years will be better prepared to deal effectively with human crises because they have been sensitized to identify evil in its early stages.

Objectives:

- Students will explain how their beliefs about someone or some group often determine their behavior toward that individual or group;
- Students will begin to make connections between their study of the Holocaust and issues in their lives today;
- Students will understand that post-Holocaust genocidal actions have occurred and are still occurring in our world today;
- Students will suggest ways in which future genocides might be prevented.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Have students bring in accounts of other genocidal actions taking place in our world today. Have the students explain why these accounts should be considered examples of "genocide."

Select a number of these accounts and involve the class in a mock international tribunal where the offending country is tried under the terms of the Genocide Convention (see Handout A-1).

- Distribute copies of the chart which makes up Handout C-1 to your students. Ask students to read Column A and to explain what each "attitude" means. Then have students fill in Column B with specific Nazi policies which grew out of the attitudes listed in Column A.

Have students identify and understand that institutional and cultural safeguards exist in the United States which make it unlikely that the attitudes of Column A could result in the kinds of policies listed in Column B.

After students complete this chart, discuss the following questions:

- Which of the attitudes listed in Column A seem to be most prevalent in America today?
 - What safeguards exist in our society that would serve to prevent these attitudes from realizing their dangerous potential as seen in the policies listed in Column B?
 - What can you do either as an individual or as a member of a group to safeguard our constitutional rights and our basic human rights?
- To conclude this unit, you might ask students to complete the following letter-writing activity:

Setting:

You are the parent of a student who has just completed the *Genocide/Holocaust* course of study. While you formerly had doubts concerning the value of such study, you now realize that the lessons could have an enormous impact on how individual freedom and human dignity are viewed today.

Task:

Write a letter to your newspaper explaining how you think the examination of the policies of Nazi Germany could prove valuable in light of modern day problems. Offer specific examples.

HANDOUT C-1

Column A ATTITUDE

1. Only some people are worthy of living.
2. Dehumanization of "undesirables"
3. Indifference to the suffering of others
4. Denial of reality
5. Conformity to peer pressure
6. Hatred or dislike of an out-group
7. Willingness to follow a charismatic leader
8. Blind obedience to authority
9. Denial of personal responsibility
10. There are simple solutions to complex problems.
11. Individuals don't have choices.
12. Ordinary people aren't murderers.

Column B NAZI GERMANY

Column C THE UNITED STATES IN THE 1980s

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